

215309

JPRS 80913

26 May 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2016

19980918 096

DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A

Approved for public release;
Distribution Unlimited

FBIS

FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

REPRODUCED BY
NATIONAL TECHNICAL
INFORMATION SERVICE
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
SPRINGFIELD, VA. 22161

10
60
A04

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

26 May 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2016

CONTENTS

BULGARIA

- Registration Period for Military Academies Announced
(NARODNA ARMIYA, 9 Apr 82) 1

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

- Controversial Writers Defend Peace Movement in GDR
(FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, 10 Apr 82; DER SPEIGEL, 19 Apr 82) ... 10
- Stefan Heym Speech, by Stefan Heym
Rolf Schneider Discussion, by Rolf Schneider

POLAND

- Duties, Activities of Military Commissars Discussed
(GLOS POMORZA, 10 Mar 82; ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, 3, 4 Apr 82) 18
- Main Problems Noted, by Witold Niedek
Activities, Views, by Eugeniusz Tomaszewicz Interview
- Maintenance of Calm in Academic Community Discussed
(Ilona Morzol; TRYBUNA LUDU, 14 Apr 82) 22
- ZSMP, National Rebirth Committee Members Meet
(RZECZPOSPOLITA, 14 Apr 82) 25
- Rzeszow Party Plenum Report Noted
(NOWINY, 31 Mar 82) 28
- Briefs
New Gdansk University Rector 32

YUGOSLAVIA

- Details of Kosovo 'Counterrevolutionary' Groups, Links Abroad
(Zivko Milic; DANAS, 6 Apr 82) 33

Zagreb Professor Notes Reversion to 'Scarcity Society'	
(Josip Zupanov Interview; POLET, 31 Mar 82)	43
Serbian Orthodox Clergy Respond to Press Allegations	
(Dragan Terzic; PRAVOSLAVLJE, 1 Apr 82)	50

REGISTRATION PERIOD FOR MILITARY ACADEMIES ANNOUNCED

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 9 Apr 82 p 3

[An Announcement of the Ministry of National Defense for Admission of Cadets and Scholarship Holders of the Ministry of National Defense for the School Year 1982-83]

[Text] A. Admission of Cadets to the Military Academies

The military academies will admit young people for the following programs and terms of education:

People's Military Academy Vasil Levski --Veliko Turnovo

1. Commanding officers--4-year term of education: motorized infantry and border troops, tank troops--active service.
2. Commanding engineers--4-year term of education: automotive, engineering, chemical and rear troops.
3. Engineers--5-year term of education: tank troops--technical.
4. Political officers--4-year term of education.

People's Artillery Academy G. Dimitrov --Shumen

1. Commanding officers--4-year term of education; ground artillery, anti-aircraft artillery, artillery-instrumental reconnaissance and cartography.
2. Engineers--5-year term of education: artillery armament, radiotechnical troops--radiolocating stations, radiotechnical troops--automated guiding systems, anti-aircraft technical troops.
3. Political officers--4-year term of education.

People's Air-Force Academy G. Benkovski --Dolna Mitropoliya

1. Commanding officers--5-year term of education (4.8 years for a pilot); pilot, pilot in the Bulgarian civil aviation, airman-navigator, aiming-navigator and staff air force.

2. Engineers--5-year term of education: use and maintenance of the flying machines, use and maintenance of the electrical and automatic equipment of the flying machines, use and maintenance of the radio equipment of the flying machines, communication and radio-technical signaling, aircraft weapon systems.

3. Pilots for the agricultural aviation--3-year term of education.

People's Naval Academy-- N.Y. Vaptsarov --Varna

1. Commanding Engineers--5-year term of education: Captain in the navy, captain in the civil fleet.

2. Engineers--5-year term of education: the ship's power machines and mechanisms--Navy, the ships power machines and mechanisms--civil fleet and radio location.

3. Political officers--5-year term of education.

Those who graduate from the military academies are given the degree (rank) of lieutenant-engineer (lieutenant) and a civil education and qualification in the respective field is recognized.

Young people meeting the following conditions can apply to the military academies: completed high-school education with a minimum aggregate grade 12.00 (GPA from the diploma and the grades in the subjects which are considered in determining the aggregate grade), they should not be older than 23 years, and the applicants for pilots--than 21 years (the age is calculated on 30 September), they should be physically healthy, they should not be married, they should not have been convicted, they should be active members of the Dimitrov Communist Youth Union and they should be willing to devote themselves to military service.

The following subject grades from the diploma are included in determining the aggregate grade rating:

--for political officers--Bulgarian history, Bulgarian language and literature;

--for the chemical troops--chemistry and mathematics;

--for all the others--mathematics and physics.

The cadet applicant should fill out personally and submit to the Head of the Military Academy through the local military command (those in service, through their commander of units) the following documents: application form (form approved by the local military command), diploma for completed higher education or a copy of it, autobiography (curriculum vitae), birth certificate, certificate showing no previous conviction, conscription health certificate, pedagogical character from the high school, a contest card, declaration that he will serve the Bulgarian military forces (Bulgarian civil aviation--BGA) water transport and ocean fishing for not less than 10 years, and a document for privilege.

The documents can be submitted in the same order by young people who wish to apply simultaneously to civil VUZ (Higher Educational Establishments) and a military academy.

The deadline for submitting the documents is 7 July 1982, but for those who have graduated before 1982 and those in the military service it is 5 June 1982.

Every young man will have the right to apply to only one military academy for all programs according to the order of preference.

All cadet applicants must report to the military academy they have applied to not later than 1400 hours (2 pm) on 10 August, and the applicants for pilots and navigators at People's Air-Force Academy G. Benkovski not later than 1400 hours (2 pm) on 26 July 1982.

The cadet applicants take a competitive examination in a special subject and in general culture and political training.

The special subjects for the competitive examinations are as follows:

--for political officers--Bulgarian history, and for the applicants to People's Naval Academy N.Y. Vaptsarov --mathematics;

--for officers in the chemical troops--chemistry;

--for all other majors--mathematics.

The written competitive examinations will be conducted according to curricula and lists of questions for the competitive examinations in the civil higher educational institutions. For admission to the chemical troops--the questionnaire for chemistry for the universities and chemotechnological higher educational establishments.

The date for conducting the examinations is as follows:

--on 11 August--mathematics;

--on 12 August--history;

--on 13 August--general culture and political knowledge;

--on 14 August--chemistry.

The examinations in People's Air-Forces Academy "G. Benkovski" are only for pilots:

--on 27 July--mathematics;

--on 29 July--general culture and political knowledge.

Cadet applicants in this program have no right to take the competitive examinations with the applicants for the other programs in the academy. The grades they receive can be used in the other programs shown in their documents.

All cadet applicants who successfully pass the examinations will have a physical and psychological checks of their qualities and have a medical examination.

The check of the physical qualities of the applicants will be executed in the following events and norms: not fewer than 6 lift-ups on the horizontal bar, 100 meters dash--not more than 15.5 seconds, 1,000 meters cross-country--not more than 4.10 minutes, swimming 100 meters (only for People's Naval Academy N.Y. Vaptsarov)--not more than 3.00 minutes.

Sport uniform (should be provided by the applicant)

The check of the psychological qualities is executed by special methods developed in the military academies.

The medical examinations will be conducted according to the requirements of the Regulation of diseases and physical handicaps.

The applicants for pilots will have to undergo a special aviomedical examination.

During the competitive examinations in the military academies all applicants are provided with room. Applicants who are in the service travel with military travel documents and receive also food at presenting food certificate.

B. Admission of Cadets to Higher Institute of Physical Education G. Dimitrov

The young people applying for cadets in the Higher Institute for Physical Education G. Dimitrov, program for physical education for the Bulgarian People's Army should meet the requirements for cadets in military academies. They file their application documents in VIF (Higher Institute for Physical Education) "G. Dimitrov" according to the requirements of the Reference Book for Students-Applicants for 1982-1983. Through the local military command, where they are registered, they send the following documents to the head of ASHVSM Chavdar [Athletic School--rest of extension unknown]. Sofia: Application form, curriculum vitae, birth certificate, certificate showing no previous conviction, privilege certificate, copy of a diploma for completed high-school education, and a declaration that they will serve in the BNA [Bulgarian People's Army] not less than 10 years after graduating from the institution.

The documents should be filed in the local military command until 7 July 1982.

The conditions and order for conducting the competitive examinations are stipulated in the Regulation for admission of students in VIF G. Dimitrov for the school year 1982-1983.

People who are in the service and are not to be discharged this year are not allowed to apply.

The young people admitted to the program of physical education in BNA have the same rights and obligations as the other cadets in the military academies.

Those who successfully complete their education will be given the rank lieutenant and will be appointed in the BNA.

C. Admission of Scholarship Holders of MNO [Ministry of National Defense]
Young people meeting the requirements for cadets in the military academies are admitted as scholarship holders of MNO.

Young people are admitted in the following programs:

- medical doctors--in the medical institutes in Sofia, Plovdiv, Varna and Pleven;
- dentistry--in the faculties of dentistry in Sofia and Plovdiv;
- pharmacology--in the pharmaceutical faculty in Sofia;
- physics--in SU [University of Sofia] Kliment Okhridski
- meteorology--in BAN [Bulgarian Academy of Sciences].

The applicants for scholarships file their documents as everybody else in the higher educational establishments according to the rules governing the application for universities. Those who successfully qualify with a grade rate above the determined minimum for the given institute of higher education, after the announcing of the results of the competitive examinations, file an application form in the local military command. Together with the application, they should submit a curriculum vitae, medical certificate from a military hospital--for discharged conscripts, medical conscription certificate--for those who have not been drafted yet, health certificate--for the conscripts, certificate to prove that they have no previous convictions, certificate for their aggregate grade result from the higher educational establishment where they have applied and taken the examinations, and a declaration that they will serve in the BNA for not less than 10 years after they have graduated.

Those admitted as scholarship-students and who have not served their regular term in the military will begin their studies after they have served it.

The scholarship-students of BNA after their graduations are accepted in active service and are appointed as officers in BNA.

Additional information can be obtained by the military academies, local military commands, commanders of units--for the conscripts as well as from the Guide book for student applicants for 1982 year.

9804

CSO: 2200/93

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

CONTROVERSIAL WRITERS DEFEND PEACE MOVEMENT IN GDR

Stefan Heym Speech

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 10 Apr 82 p 12

[Text of speech by Stefan Hyem, GDR writer, at a peace demonstration in Dortmund, organized by the (West) German Trade Union Federation (DGB): "'The Bar Will Offer No Protection at Atomic High-Noon'--GDR Writer Stefan Heym at the DGB Youth's Peace Demonstration: There Are No Just Wars Because There Are No Just Atom Bombs"]

[Text] At a peace demonstration of the DGB Youth in Dortmund on Good Friday, together with a benefit concern for the Polish trade union "Solidarnosc", the GDR writer Stefan Heym warned against trying to find methods of waging a nuclear war with calculable risks. The FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU publishes Heym's remarks verbatim.

On that day in May when the war in Europe came to an end, I took my pistol, a Colt 45, and fired all the cartridges into the air. Only later did I reflect on why I had done that, and I came to the conclusion that my feelings at the time must have been: This will not be needed any more. From now on there will be peace, a just and lasting peace, after a just war in which the just cause won.

Who was left who could still want war? The army in whose ranks I had fought, the U.S. Army, which had experienced enough from Normandy to Buchenwald to realize that mankind had escaped the descent into barbarism only by the skin of its teeth? The Soviet Army, which with such great sacrifices had come the long, hard road from Stalingrad to Torgau on the Elbe river where both armies shook hands? Although there might be disagreements between the two victorious powers, I thought, they are both democracies, one bourgeois, the other socialist, and in both the power is vested in the people, and the people do not need war and do not want war.

One may smile at the young man's illusions from the viewpoint of nearly 40 years that have passed since then; but they were not ignoble, and above all, I was not the only one who held them. It was the time when in the United States the humanistic principles and ideas of Franklin Delano Roosevelt were still

alive, and when in the Soviet Union the spirit of love for one's country had proved stronger than the evil spirit of Gulag. It was a time of hope where one thought about socialist reforms in the then U.S. occupied zone, and about democracy in the Soviet occupied one; it was not for nothing that the order established in this zone was at that time called antifascist-democratic and that the nation emerging from it was given the name German Democratic Republic.

It was the time when the saying came into being which is being quoted again today, and even by prominent speakers: Never again shall a war be started from German soil. The only ones who doubted that word at that time were those very fascists who had just been beaten, and I still remember the highranking Wehrmacht officers whom I had to interrogate and who told me sneeringly: You had better be nice to us, you will still need us.

We all know what course history took. The dreams of May blossoms became an atomic nightmare, the world which was supposed to become a rational, humane world, is split into two camps, West and East lie in wait for each other like two ferocious animals and wait for the first sign of weakness in the other, in order to snap.

It is moot to argue whose fault it is and who first developed the paranoia, the persecution complex which today determines the policies of the atomic superpowers. Was it the West? Was it U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, and Winston Churchill who, for the first time, declared openly in Fulton, Missouri, that peace with the Soviets was not possible? Or was it the fault of Stalin who, already fearing his own people, was not about to trust a competing world power?

And then came the horror of Hiroshima, and the hubris of the American leadership.

But it was forgotten that $E = mc^2$ was a principle of physics and not a secret classified document; and soon enough the two world powers confronted each other with this weapon in their hands, which would not only blow up Silver Gulch in Nevada, or Omsk or Tomsk, but the entire globe.

This is the lunacy with which we live. For decades now, every day, it is atomic high noon, and it is our bad luck that we cannot, like the people in a western, quickly duck behind the bar, while the two cowboys carry out their ritualistic threatening gestures. And with every passing year the matter becomes more dangerous because both adversaries keep enlarging their nuclear arsenal, increasing it and refining it so that they are capable today of totally destroying themselves and us and all life on earth, not just once, not just twice, but about two dozen times over.

Their strategists are now attempting to find methods of waging nuclear war in which only the poor guys behind the bar get it, while they themselves, with honorably smoke-blackened faces, are still standing upright. Yet this will not succeed. A bomb is a bomb, an atom is an atom, and any physicist will confirm that an atom, once out of Pandora's box, cannot just be stuffed back in. No, no one will be left, no marshal, no president, no secretary general, even if in

the beginning they limit themselves to a small tactical nuclear grenade during some running fight near Hannover or Magdeburg; one follows the other, after the tactical nuclear arms come the big strategic ones, and when the scenario has been played out, we shall drift through space, a dead star with a poisoned atmosphere, as a mockery of God's creation. The grotesque part of it are the moral principles with which the whole matter is cloaked--if one can speak about morals at all in connection with such frightful weapons and such frightful plans.

According to this moral understanding, there are good and bad nuclear weapons, just and unjust ones, the kind that serve the preservation of peace, and others which serve the purposes of war. Yet which is the good, humanitarian, just and worthy nuclear weapons: the Pershing II or the SS-20? The Trident submarine, or one of the Whisky class which recently ran aground at the skerries near Stockholm? At the writers' congress late last year, this was exactly the point at issue, and the fronts cut diagonally across the assembly, but not according to East-West lines; there were those who said that the Soviets are for peace, therefore their nuclear bombs are also, and we do not feel threatened by them, and the others who considered Soviet nuclear weapons also as a threat to peace and to their own persons.

I regretted that there were no U.S. writers present at the meeting, one of whom might have stood up and mentioned that Mr Reagan also claims for himself, and his administration, that they are quite enormously for peace, and that their nuclear weapons serve only this purpose. When one hears all this, one must come to the conclusion that no one is threatening anyone, and that we are dealing exclusively with elderly little peace angels and are just about to witness the outbreak of paradisiacal conditions.

Theater of the Absurd

Yet in actuality, there is a real difference, and a serious one, between Soviet and Western nuclear weapons. Namely, no one makes a profit from the Soviet ones.

With the exception of cases of corruption, there are no private persons in any country with true socialism who make profits from industry, and the socialist armament industry, with the exception of their exports, is at any rate a business operating at a loss for which the workers have to pay. Yet it is a known fact that besides private profit, there are also other motives which cause people to act one way or another, and it is also known that even in actually existing socialism, there exist more real interest groups which bear a clear resemblance to the so-called military-industrial complex in the West. Power-personal, organizational, military power is an enormous temptation, and if I can succeed, through threatening with the atom bomb, in keeping the present power structure within my sphere of interest untouched, then I have a motive for nuclear armament which more than balances that of private profit.

There are no longer any just wars. There cannot be, because there are no just atoms bombs. The atom bomb strikes the just and unjust, no matter what noble goals the individual statesman may pursue with it, and what pet name he gives to it. The bomb is death, regardless of the intention for which it is used, offensive of defensive or preventive, and at what point, as a first strike or

second strike or last strike. The bomb is the enemy. No matter who has the say-so about it, the bomb must go if we want to live.

Therefore, the peace movement.

It stems from the great fear of the people and is therefore spontaneous; that is its strength.

Naturally, all sorts of people attach themselves to such an issue arising from, and moving, the masses. Peace, after all, is also a political problem, and what kind of politician would not try to make political hay out of peoples' yearning for peace. You will have noticed that even governments are welcoming this new peace movement with the greatest of sympathy and are providing publicity support--however, it is rarely one's own government doing it, but more often that of the neighboring country, which in turn watches its own autochthonous, home-grown peace movement with a less than favorable eye.

The litmus test for a government's love of peace is its attitude towards nuclear arms opponents in its own country. When the police in the nation's train stations strip young citizens of badges showing the plowman about to forge his sword into a plowshare, then the government of that country is out of step with the words of the prophet Isaiah. When the nation's school authorities distribute books to their school children which contain sentences such as these:

Basic rules of conduct after nuclear detonations are : Drop to the ground immediately, utilizing shelter, especially ditches, dugouts, concrete walls--do not lie crosswise to the shock wave--look for shelter in the shadow zone--close eyes and protect uncovered body parts--avoid the vicinity of flammable material!

And further:

The following offer protection from residual nuclear radiation: Personal protective equipment--technical means and shelters--special measures such as closing of windows and hatches in vehicles, increasing the distance between vehicles, increased marching tempo...

then the government of that country either has no idea of the consequences of a nuclear explosion, or it wants to minimize them. And if a government permits the sale of war toys in the country's stores and increases paramilitary drills for school children, instead of giving favorable consideration to the possibility of substituting service in social areas for service in the armed forces, then this government deprives itself of credibility for its frequent peace-loving assurances--not to mention that old Prussian foot torture, the goose step, which has always been considered the prime symbol of an evil military spirit, and which is practiced regularly on one of the most beautiful streets of the nation's capital, and which could easily be abolished as a small token of a peace-loving attitude.

At the aforementioned writers' congress, the Soviet colleague, Colonel Professor Daniil Projektor, a military expert according to his own statements, gave his

official blessing to a demonstration for the removal of all nuclear weapons from the territory of the GDR: because, according to his assurances, there are no nuclear weapons there anyway. When asked later if those were kitchen pots that were given a ride on Karl-Marx-Allee on ceremonial occasions, he admitted that those were indeed booster rockets--but the nuclear warheads were safely in Soviet safekeeping.

As far as is known, the same status exists in the Federal Republic. In the Federal Republic, also, the United States has the finger on the warheads, and the Federal Armed Forces are allowed to tend the booster rockets. Since we can have full confidence that the military on both sides will be able to get the booster rockets and warheads together in time to avoid our standing there with only parade ammunition in case of an emergency, it suggests itself--if we follow comrade Projektor's hint--to demand that, together with the nuclear warheads, the booster rockets also are removed from both the West German and East German states.

It is obvious that no German government can leave the treaty system to which it has been linked for years. But since, as matters stand today, nuclear exchange would begin here in central Europe, it is nevertheless the duty of these governments to help defuse the dangerous situation--i.e., to ban booster rockets and warheads from their territories.

Thus, a nuclear-free Germany! If even only one of the two German governments made this demand and declared its own willingness, the other one would see itself compelled to do the same. And what third government would then want to say no?

Illusions? Dreams?

Perhaps the young man's hope on that day in May, 1945, was not quite so naive, after all. Perhaps it will be possible, if people in East and West cooperate in creating peace, which at that time, like a fleeting first flush of dawn, was recognizable on the horizon.

Rolf Schneider Discussion

Hamburg DER SPEIGEL in German Vol 36 No 16, 19 Apr 82 pp 131, 136

[Article by Rolf Schneider, GDR writer: "The Cadaver Stench Will Stick With Us--GDR Rolf Schneider on the SED and the Peace Movement in His Country"]

[Text] At the moment, events are taking place in the GDR which must deeply distress anyone who out of basic conviction is in sympathy with this state.

Uniformed People's Police approach churchgoers and threaten their jacket sleeves with scissors. Young people lose their places of apprenticeship, are excluded from the Abitur [college admission] or are expelled from the university. The cause of all this authoritarian intolerance is a round cloth patch; it depicts the words of Old Testament prophet Micah that swords be turned into plowshares, and the picture of a man who is recognizably occupied with this task of forging.

The distress mentioned is of several kinds. First of all, one must know that the man on the cloth patch is a Soviet. A sculpture by J.W. Wutschetitsch, he was presented in December 1961 by the USSR to the United Nations Organization in New York. The biblical quote is inscribed on the base; and if the rather agnostic USSR fell back on it, it is because it considered it an axiom which reflected its own foreign policy intentions.

Whoever rages with scissors and dismissal letters from school against that patch commits an anti-Soviet act, in my opinion, the likes of which is prohibited in the GDR and subject to punishment.

The GDR government informed the Saxon State Church that it considers the patch a membership badge of a resistance movement; therefore it declares it prohibited. At least, this was heard recently in an announcement from the pulpit, and why should the State Church of Saxony invent this?

I must ask my country herewith to reconsider the case.

The only thing which might dispose the wearers of the incriminating patch towards opposition is their youthful age. This means it might be a case of generation conflicts which occur periodically, also in the GDR, and which in the past also tended to be linked to something quite superficial. My colleague, Heiner Mueller, came up with a word for it, "substitute wars." Sometimes they were about jazz, then rock music; sometimes it was jeans, or beards, or long hair on men. The GDR lost all of them, only to realize with surprise that neither a certain type of music nor blue pants had been able to shake up the state order of the country, even the least little bit.

True, an article of clothing by the firm of Levi is not an existential thing. What is happening in the GDR at present resembles most closely the conflicts concerning the Junge Gemeinde [Young Community: GDR Protestant church youth activity group] at the beginning of 1953.

At that time, also among other things, it was a matter of wearing a badge: the cross atop the globe. The Junge Gemeinde was suspected of being an agency of enemies of the state. Their members were supposed to dissociate themselves formally from it. He who refused had to expect expulsion from school and university, even incarceration; hundreds of young lives were thus damaged. Then came June of 1953, and the New Course, the Junge Gemeinde was rehabilitated, it was permissible to wear their badge, and very occasionally, it can still be seen today.

The wearers of the patch "Swords into Plowshares" are also mostly young Protestant Christians. Above all, and that is the case in point, they are the adherents of an uncompromising anti-war attitude. The GDR, like the Federal Republic, the Netherlands, Italy, and lately also the United States, has its peace movement; it shares all its characteristics, namely: it is spontaneous, often religiously motivated, and totally unorganized. The latter is its weakness as well as its strength.

It is delicate to deal with it in terms of numbers. The 300,000 in Bonn last October were an impressive crowd; seen as a percentage of the total West German

population, they were a minority. The situation in the GDR is comparable, where the 5,000 demonstrators in Dresden in February of this year also seem impressive only if one does not consider their ratio to the total GDR population.

The Dresden demonstration did take place, however. It was not obstructed by anyone. Up to that time, one could assume that the GDR government tolerated this peace movement in its own country. A mere four weeks later, all this is evidently no longer valid; there are no understandable reasons for it. On my part, I fear that my country is not doing itself a service.

To start with, the applause which the GDR continues to accord to the peace movement in Western countries, will sound somewhat hollow in the future. Recently, a renowned GDR writer stated: "What a gain it would be if agreement to proposals of banning nuclear weapons were also supported by an independent peace movement in the GDR." He did not forget to add that his "hopes in this regard are small." Whereby he proved himself to be what he is also in the literary field: a realist.

I myself confess that my sympathies lie with the independent peace movement in the GDR. This may give me leave to speak about myself for a while.

I am a pacifist. I have always been one. I will not try to explain here how I reconcile this with my marxist ideology, among whose patriarchs ranks, after all, the eminent military theoretician, Friedrich Engels. The problem has become moot in view of the fact that reality in the meantime has caught up with, and agrees with, my convictions. We are living under circumstances of armament technology which turns even a defensive war into sheer nuclear suicide.

I should like to mention two points here:

I am completely convinced of the peaceful intentions of the GDR, the Soviet Union, the socialist countries. If this were not so, I would not wish to continue living in this part of the world. I am equally convinced that the present hardening in foreign policy, the threatening arms race, the gradually lengthening shadows of a new cold war must be blamed on measures by the Reagan administration. The latter can also take credit for the peace movement: without these [measures], it would not exist.

Peace movement and cold war were always linked to each other; one is evidence and a condition of the other. The era of detente did not need Easter marchers. The fight-nuclear-death movement was an answer to the hysterical armament under the military doctrines of containment and roll-back. At that time, thanks to the lack of a nuclear arsenal, a partial survival of mankind in case of a world war was at least still conceivable. Today, at the time of triple or quintuple overkill, this is no longer so.

One result is that the new peace movement in its general tendency, despite many programmatic and personal agreements with the old one, is nevertheless different, that is to say, radically pacifist.

As GDR writer Stephan Hermlin said, "the motto 'create peace without arms,' which captivated large sections of young people, contains the essence of a great utopia,

thus possesses a real core. Although it appears hardly credible that disarmament could take place in other than a simultaneous and balanced manner, the demand of many for unilateral disarmament cannot be overlooked. It has become stronger and cannot simply be ignored."

One should add that the utopia mentioned here is very old in its substance. The idea of undercutting the militancy of an assumed or real opponent through deliberate defenselessness is in essence the secularized Sermon of the Mount. It was surely not coincidental that the new peace movement made its debut at a church congress, that of Hamburg, and neither is the church's backing for the new peace movement in the GDR.

The Hermlin words quoted here were stated at the Berlin meeting for the promotion of peace in December 1981, a remarkable assembly in many respects. It brought together some hundred literati and scientists from East and West, in the capital of the GDR. One talked about the state of this peace, and the need for preventing war. Opinions differed widely.

In the course of the Berlin encounter it was mentioned several times that the participants, with their heterogeneous convictions, did not mean to question each others' "capacity for peace." One stuck to the agreement that the sole purpose of the meeting was the meeting itself, thus dialogue, mutual respect; in the end, a breeze like God's peace wafted through the hall. I took all this as a promise, also for the future, also for the internal life of the GDR.

With its latest actions against the wearers of pacifist badges, my country has unilaterally cancelled this promise. As it was, the meeting by nature and direction did not fit into any of the present cliches of political thinking. Wedged between the Schmidt visit at Lake Werbellin and the beginning of the state of martial law in the People's Republic of Poland, it offered topical cause to be pushed out of private and public awareness as quickly as possible.

By comparison, another quote from GDR communist Stephan Hermlin: "A curious contradiction has arisen between the legitimate right of nations to self-defense for the protection of their integrity and sovereignty, and nuclear defensive measures which from the outset are of a suicidal nature and lead to self-destruction... War, which despite its constantly growing terror still could have the nature of protecting life and morals up to the threshold of the present, I am thinking primarily of the defensive struggle of the anti-Hitler-coalition against fascism, has become absurd. It can no longer, as with Clausewitz, be an instrument for pushing through political intentions; it must be banned."

Nothing can be changed in this description. It is the justification for pacifism in the year 1982, also in the GDR where, on the other hand, one continues to think and act along Clausewitz's ideas of military theory, now even a bit more energetically than before.

Where do we stand? The Berlin encounter, is it as if it had never happened? What about, and what is one's reaction to, the later Lenin's declaration, only recently discovered, that he could not only tolerate but also practice pacifist attitudes?

Recently, a young GDR poet appeared at a public reading and declared he, for his part, wanted to see plowshares turned into weapons. In a GDR school, a teacher is supposed to have denounced pacifism as "demoralization of the troops"; evidently, there was no one around to stuff this fascist expression back into his mouth.

I foresee a series of conflicts in the GDR which will be as useless as tormenting, their only result a great number of destroyed lives; the cadaver stench, which makes for publicity, will stick to us for a long time. For this reason, also, I am tempted to ask my authorities to take up again the dialogue which had been begun with the pacifist forces in our own country. It might be useful. It definitely cannot hurt.

The GDR demonstrates extraordinary military eagerness, for a socialist country. Military parades are a favorite means of self-representation. For this reason it has sometimes been difficult to represent convincingly, outside its borders, the peaceful intentions of the GDR.

It should not be made even more difficult, if you please.

9917

CSO: 2300/239

DUTIES, ACTIVITIES OF MILITARY COMMISSARS DISCUSSED

Main Problems Noted

Koszalin GLOS POMORZA in Polish 10 Mar 82 p 5

[Article by Brig Gen Witold Niedek, plenipotentiary commissar of the National Defense Committee (KOK) for the Koszalin Voivodship: "Soldiers Serving Society"]

[Text] In times when words mean little, when even the purest of intentions are being questioned, even actions undertaken by the military in the defense of the state and the national interest may raise doubts. In order to ensure that these doubts are groundless, it is necessary to look only at the lineage of our army, its class origins and its function. Without this, it will be impossible to understand anything. It will be equally impossible to determine in whose interests a soldier of the People's Army was acting when he--in carrying out his duties under martial law--stood at the crossroads of some of the important communications arteries, stood guard in front of government buildings, protected key production facilities and--on the strength of the law of universal service for the defense of the Polish People's Republic--became a commissar, a plenipotentiary representative of the National Defense Committee (KOK) in various voivodships, cities and gminas.

The introduction of martial law, as reported by city and territorial operational groups (TGO), was--regardless of surprise--accepted by a decisive majority of the population of the Koszalin Voivodship. Furthermore, the older populace accepted the decision of the State Council with a genuine satisfaction because they saw in the army the only force capable of solving the current socioeconomic problems and of eliminating dangers that threatened our socialist renewal.

Martial law initiated the process of a return to normalcy; it protected society from anarchy, chaos and disorganization. This stabilizing process is continuing. However, it encounters--unfortunately--rough going and occasionally a morass even here in the Koszalin Voivodship. From TGO reports, and lately also from field investigations in Szczecinek, appear many disturbing phenomena and problems requiring decisive action.

The first problem is youth affairs. Generally speaking, the youth don't understand the need for, or the causes of, martial law. They see only the

inconvenience, imposed restrictions; they often exaggerate them, using arguments of the widespread [antigovernment] propaganda whose source is well known; the instigating Western wireless media. This state of affairs is the result of inadequate work of the teaching cadres in explaining the situation to youth organizations. Also lacking is an ideological offensive by the Basic Party Organization (POP) in the schools. Youth's frustrations are intensified by the awakened aspirations that cannot be fulfilled, especially in housing. One can still see in the attitudes of the youth results of the destructive activities by the extreme elements of Solidarity. They do not seem to improve because there is no countering activity by the Union of Socialist Polish Youth (ZSMP). From questions and statements made by the youth it becomes apparent that they expect a ready and plentiful flow of consumer goods, cultural benefits, etc., supplied by the state. They show no interest in where and how the state is supposed to obtain these benefits.

The second problem is the socioeconomic affairs of workers in production enterprises. From conversations that we have conducted in this milieu it appears that the work crews have insufficient knowledge of the program of the Military Council of National Salvation (WRON). Additionally, the capability of the party organizations to translate this program into understandable language of tasks and defined needs, at a given plant or institution, is equally insufficient. This results from a weakness of our educational and propaganda efforts; consequently, the hostile propaganda of our enemies is able to penetrate this gap.

Who is supposed to conduct such political-educational activity? The party, of course, and allied political factions, youth organizations and others are. However, many POP's are very weak and have few members. For example, in the Regional Drainage Enterprise in Czczecinek, of 150 workers, there are only 3 party members. In such a situation the only solution is a recommendation that the requirement for the conduct of these activities be assigned to the plant's managerial cadre.

The third problem can be described as a search for resources within the mechanics and structures of economy management and the direction of the administration. From TGO reports it appears that some economic structures and administrative mechanisms in the voivodship are faulty and that they cause serious delays in our emergence from the crisis. A bizarre state of "helplessness" and certain actual difficulties are directly endangering the renewal of our economy and administration.

For example, city mayors and gmina chiefs who are faced with demanding requests do not actually have the respective means, or powers, to carry them out. A mayor, with the exception of the city library, museum and OSIR [expansion unknown], does not have at his disposal any of the enterprises so vital to his city such as the communal economy, housing administration, thermal power plant, city communications or even housing reconstruction/repair enterprises. How can he be expected, under these circumstances, to carry out his fundamental functions?

As another example, three enterprises in Szczecinek are concerned with drainage. They all are located in one area, separated only by fences. Each has its own offices, warehouses and shops. They all do the same work. All the people who work there stress this nonsensical situation; however, no one so far has been able to unify these enterprises. Another nonsensical arrangement is supplying the State Agricultural Machinery Station (POM) in Szczecinek with steel. Steel must be transported from Szczecinek to Czaplinek; there it is sorted and then transported back to Szczecinek. Look at how much time is wasted and how many additional costs are incurred (there are about 40 kilometers between the two towns). Curiously, many people from the administration of that enterprise consider this situation to be normal.

There are many such examples. The real problem is the need to strengthen the economy. There must be certain elements of authority in our voivodship, indeed in our very headquarters, who will be willing to listen to the voices of the working people and undertake decisive actions aimed at the return to orderliness of our economic life. At this time we don't need good intentions or declarations that confirm the status quo. What is needed is a sensible, rational activity because only this, in the eyes of society, will give credence to our actions.

It is the inalienable right of each citizen to work, to live under conditions of law and order, peace, quiet and social justice. This is the purpose of martial law. It is not very popular today to speak of work organization and social discipline, especially under the current circumstances; however, I shall permit myself the luxury of reflecting on these matters. We are used to looking at work discipline through the eyes of a worker or office clerk. Does he come to work on time, does he take time off to go to town during working hours, etc.? For transgressions in these matters one can often, quite justifiably, suffer serious consequences.

Far more seldom do we look at the work discipline of managers and directors. Do they use official vehicles for private purposes? Are they habitually late for work? The same applies to wastefulness, be it incompetence or dishonesty, when it pertains to people in leadership positions. We must never be complacent about this. That kind of activity aims straight at the heart of our socialist order, at social justice. No honest person and no soldier will tolerate such practices of breaking or circumventing the law, using it as a screen behind which one may dip for personal gain, or at the practice of dividing society into those who are better or worse, informed to keep uninformed regarding the higher aims. None of us will accept formation of legal or customary norms giving undeserved privileges to a chosen few. We honor those who are deserving; however, we also accept a principle that to be deserving imposes an obligation on each such person to perform always in an exemplary manner all entrusted duties.

Many other conclusions can be drawn from the work of TGO's. A bad supply situation creates bitterness and dissatisfaction among people, in particular with such articles as shoes, stockings, items of personal hygiene. The most pressing social problem is the lack of housing and very meager prospects for

for its rapid solution. In production plants there is a lack of protective clothing and materials; the compensatory payments, which are made in lieu of them, are also being accepted with dissatisfaction. If we look at the social aspects against this background, we will see a contrast in many plants between the plant working conditions and those of the management: decorative paneling, carpets, soft club chairs, private television in the office, etc.

One would think that, in view of the current difficulties and neglect people who are responsible for factories, for production and work organization would undertake some active measures to improve the situation. I'm thinking of directors, managers, shift leaders and trade masters. Unfortunately, when it comes to these matters the majority of the leadership does not show sufficient concern or energy.

Many matters of public interest can be, and should be, resolved rapidly in order to help people with their daily problems. There is one such matter in Szczecinek--this information comes from discussions with officers and soldiers of TGO's. There is a lack of many food items, in particular blood sausage [black pudding], one reason being that in this city, as in many others, small butcher shops have been eliminated. It appears, however, that in Koszalin Voivodship there are all the necessary conditions and capabilities to produce good quality blood sausage. There are sufficient amounts of the necessary components (animal blood, entrails, grit cereals) to satisfy completely the needs of the local populace for this food article. In fact all that is needed to solve this matter is fast and decisive action by the administration.

I have given some examples. We should not dare to pass by those negative phenomena without trying to do something about them--not if we wish to remain credible, not if we wish to gain public support for the WRON program. A soldier serving the nation fulfills his duties according to constitutional law. This imposes on him the requirement to defend the nation and the interests of the workers. We are, therefore, against all occurrences that do not coincide with the interests of the people: bureaucracy, arrogance and incompetence. Soldiers of TGO's understand this as their duty; that is how they carry it out and how they will continue carrying it out.

Activities, Views

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 3, 4 Apr 82 p 6

[Interview with 2nd Lt Eugeniusz Tomaszewicz, deputy military commissar for Biskupiece Reszelski and Sorkwity Gmina by staff writer, Cadet Corporal Krzysztof Wroblewski: "Commissar about Gmina--Face the Problems"; date and place not given]

[Text] A certain stereotype of the military commissar can be discerned from press reports: a middle-aged, senior officer. However, this is not always the rule; younger people are also doing this job.

Second Lt Eugeniusz Tomaszewicz is the deputy commissar for the Biskupiec Reszelski City and Gmina and for Sorkwity Gmina. He received his degree (MA) in social sciences from the Jagiellonian University (Krakow) and graduated from the Reserve Officers School of the Political Officers Center in Lodz. He already had some experiences that will form the basis of this interview with a representative of ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI.

[Question] What problem does a commissar encounter in his daily activity?

[Answer] They are just what you would expect--the basic complaint in a city is the housing situation. We have dozens of people who come to us; the majority are newlyweds. The situation of those young families is desperate. The reality is painful--there is virtually no available housing in Biskupiec. We are trying to help the most needy cases. Acting together with the gmina chief, I have made several decisions concerning the most urgent cases.

However, to tell the truth, we cannot help everybody. I'm fully aware of the fact that one of the duties of my office is to pass information. The housing shortage in Biskupiec is not news, nor is it an exception on the national scale. Rather, this disease has infected the whole country.

The alarming reports submitted by the military commissars relative to this subject will result in radical plans to solve the housing problem.

On the other hand, rural problems are more differentiated though not always so pressing. For example, a farmer working 9 hectares of land came in with a request: I should intervene on his behalf at the gmina office, so that he be issued meat ration coupons.

Normally our problems are more serious. Sometimes--if you listen to the farmers--we get involved in solving problems that require a government decision, even as high as the ministerial level, or end up with a court ruling. Nevertheless, we have to maintain that the law is the law and we should not break it or circumvent it. One thing we do is to suggest changes to unrealistic or outdated provisions of the law; however, this can be changed only through a normal, legal process.

To sum it all up, the majority of rural problems consist of legal questions of contested property rights of deeds and titles--consolidation and property deeds to parcels of land. There are also the current matters of the supply of consumer goods to rural areas and the supply of materials needed in farming. This requires dozens of interventions on my part; this also requires speedy and flexible action.

From what I have told you, one may think that the army is duplicating the efforts of the administration; however, this is not the case. The state administration organs are still functioning normally. Our purpose is to assist the administration and to evaluate its effectiveness [and efficiency]. Nevertheless, we do receive those matters that have not been attended to by the

administration or been decided against the--not necessarily very objectively evaluated--best interests of the petitioner.

We review those matters again, together with the gmina authorities. Being the representatives of the army, we try to remain impartial. Where we can help, we do so. However, we do not perform the impossible or the unrealistic, such as a request to assign a tractor to a 3-hectare farm, as the case with one petitioner. We know that the people trust us and we do not wish to lose this precious credit.

It is very difficult to preserve impartiality when one is confronted by an avalanche of problems. It always creates a danger of becoming emotionally involved on someone's behalf. Nevertheless, despite difficulties the army is carrying out its mission; this provides a third force that stabilizes the situation in the small, often complicated, rural society.

[Question] Citizen Lieutenant, how do you see the situation in the realm of cooperation with the youth, so far as the parameters of your work are concerned?

[Answer] I'm young myself; this makes it easy to talk with people of my age group, I have very good contacts with the Rural Youth Union (ZMW) in Sorkwice; the members even invite me frequently to their meetings. I try to help in solving the professional problems of young farmers.

They have a particular problem regarding the regulation of property on the farms that they operate; additionally, they need credit, assignment of farm machinery and fertilizers.

It is against the background of such problems that I look at the rural youth, the very same people on whom we will have to depend and whom we have to inspire, to increase our farm production. They have a chance to overcome the Polish food crisis.

I also try to give the young people answers to the difficult questions relative to martial law. I try to present this question within the context of tasks that the state levies on agriculture.

Thanks to us--the Army--the territorial authorities treat youth more seriously. This is a far-reaching activity that will ensure more than bread alone for Poland.

[Question] Citizen Lieutenant, now that you have been active for several months in "rural" Poland, have you reached any conclusions?

[Answer] There is no such thing as a "profession" of military commissar. I'm performing normal military service except for the fact that I'm working with a civilian population. This makes it difficult, because this means working in a typical nonmilitary milieu. Consider discipline, an element in all military situations. Its absence, or at least a very poor quality [when present] among the civilian populace, makes for very difficult working conditions. I'm not

saying that the discipline should be as high as in the military; however, it would only be for the better if there were some self-discipline [among civilians].

Martial law is a temporary state of affairs. The army will return to the barracks but a trace of our activity here will remain. This should be reflected in changes to some of the provisions of the law, methods of dealing with problems, and this is not all. I'm thinking of discipline that will become--at least we hope that it will--an integral characteristic of the administration.

As for specific conclusions drawn from my experiences, gmina administration must have a greater degree of authority [i.e., independence] and freedom of action. A good example here are the local conditions. Simultaneously gmina administration must be subjected to more frequent, externally based controls.

A man who is not checked for effectiveness or efficiency will fall in a rut. He will perform along the line of least resistance. This phenomenon was observed in the administration during the 1970's. People employed in rural administration must be the best available and highly qualified. This can be facilitated by making the working conditions more attractive.

My current duty will be of great assistance to me in my doctorate studies at the Military Political Academy (WAP). I'm planning to attend it when martial law is terminated. Here, I'm gaining practical knowledge of the society's functioning. This, when compared with theory, will permit me to write a useful doctoral dissertation.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

9511

CSO: 2600/496

MAINTENANCE OF CALM IN ACADEMIC COMMUNITY DISCUSSED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Apr 82 p 3

[Article by Iлона Morzoll]

[Text] In very oversimplified terms, the atmosphere today in the academic community may be characterized as a mix of fatigue and disquiet. Both the cadre and students are exhausted from catching up as a result of the strikes and cleaning up the resultant mess, a task not made easier by the deepening troubles emanating from the lack of investment in schooling and the lack of means, equipment and teaching materials.

In spite of this, following last year's period of loosened discipline, the schools have started to work at full steam. Before the session, schoolwork is done in a more intensive way than usual, even on free Saturdays, often until late in the evening. Under martial law, student life has lost much of its former laxity, which was more than once the subject of social criticism.

After the establishment of obligatory attendance at all classes, students began to attend lectures with much greater frequency than they had for a long time. Since one now has only two chances to take an examination, one must truly put one's shoulder to the wheel in order to maintain his student course record. The new regulations likewise ushered in a range of burdens, such as the severe rigors of dormitory life and the obligation to show identity cards at the entrance of university buildings. The administration and the cadre became obliged to oversee student observance of the new rigors and to worry about what will happen if students refuse to abide by them.

The academic community, sensitive about privileges won earlier in the struggle, will agree unwillingly to their being restricted. On the other hand, martial law has brought the schools an opportunity to regain internal equilibrium after the shocks of the strikes, which to a marked degree paralyzed the life of the school and threatened a large part of the youth with the prospect of studies being prolonged infinitely.

Even before the reopening of classes, here and there at the universities posters appeared that were critical of the essence of martial law and called for a boycott of classes. Some students protested in the dormitories, burning candles in their windows. While these facts should not be considered a serious

threat to the functioning of the universities, they aroused in authorities the concern that they might be a potential spark, capable of reigniting the fire.

Among the higher schools in Lublin, as recently as 1 month ago these facts figured especially importantly at the university, where 11 people were excluded from intramural studies, more than 80 students were threatened with removal from the register of students and several were held for distributing fliers. They also figured in other Lublin schools but on a smaller scale. Before the session began, relative calm was restored at UMCS [Maria Curie-Skłodowska University], chiefly thanks to the appeals of the rector, who commands authority among the cadre and students alike. In the remaining schools, similar appeals were made earlier, reminding students of the regulations in force during martial law and of the penalties for their infraction. At the Medical Academy, separate regulations based on the martial law decrees were issued for the teaching cadre and the students. Those involved in public protests are faced with immediate eviction from dormitories.

These are all one-shot measures and, as it were, symptomatic treatment. They cannot be applied indefinitely. Plainly, we must find a way to restore the bonds of professionalism and comradeship in this community. Without them, it would be difficult to imagine normal work and life in the schools.

Reactivating the student movement is pointed to as a means of restoring these bonds. The SZSP [Socialist Union of Polish Students], which recently resumed its activities, has prepared its program of cultural and social work. In Lublin's "Chatka Zaka," a student cultural center is to be created not only to showcase the creative life of students of all Lublin institutions but also to serve as a location for discussion of relevant subjects of today's young intelligentsia.

While it is difficult to say whether the academic community will be satisfied in the long run with a single organization, for the present every initiative is valuable that creates an opportunity for the integration of the community and the possibility to act for all those who wish to do something positive for it.

However, we cannot expect student organizations to shoulder all of the problems of the academic community and to cope with them in their own sphere. The fact that the atmosphere in schools continues to be tense has its deeper roots in the divisions that appeared in this community before the wave of December strikes and became sharper during them. The basic question being asked in the schools now, in regard to maintaining calm, is the question of how to reach an understanding, how to win over the greatest part of the academic community to reason, given the existing differences of attitudes and views. There is also the question of who is to do this.

Party organizations at many schools are still struggling with the problem of acquiring the authority so indispensable for them. At UMCS, in November and December the organization lost many members. The outside influence of the party on the community is very limited. Regaining this influence today demands very sound action and the concentration of efforts not on seeking out those guilty of failure but on building a positive program for the future.

Thus, the PZPR School Committee at UMCS has made its primary task the moderating of conflicts, the stabilization and consolidation of the community and the creation of an atmosphere and conditions for the development of academic self-government.

A serious task falls to the academic cadre, whose attitudes to a significant degree mold the attitudes of students; they themselves are awaiting honest information and sensible and sober arguments. The cadre does not have to give lectures or instruction or have talks outside their faculties but should conduct direct and honest conversations in dormitories and in clubs-- everywhere the life of this community really takes place, everywhere discussion and the exchange of views is possible, every place that is open to arguments of good sense, with which the cadre, the party and the student organization itself should approach the student population.

8536

CSO: 2600/521

ZSMP, NATIONAL REBIRTH COMMITTEE MEMBERS MEET

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 14 Apr 82 pp 1,2

[Article: "Younger Generation's Responsibility for the Fate of the Country: Nationwide Meeting of ZSMP Activist Members of OKON"]

[Text] The nationwide meeting of ZSMP activists who are members of the Citizens' Committees for National Rebirth (OKON) held on the 13th of this month in Warsaw was devoted to a discussion of the problems related to the participation of members of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth (ZSMP) in the movement of national renaissance. Participating in the deliberations was Deputy Minister of National Defense Major General Dr Jozef Baryla, member of WRON [Military Council for National Salvation] and head of the Main Political Board of the Polish Army.

Secretary of the ZSMP Main Board Jerzy Szmajdzinski opened up the discussion by stating that the national renaissance movement, which today has around 100,000 Polish patriots in more than 6,000 OKONs, is the social extension of the goals which the Military Council for National Salvation set for itself and is consistently carrying out.

From the very beginning, ZSMP has supported and accepted the WRON actions as undertakings aimed at saving the country. As everyone knows, the formula of the committees which are in operation or being created does not have any restrictions concerning OKON members' organizational affiliations.

It is first of all a question of their being true representatives with a social-activist passion, of their enjoying moral authority among their peers, and of their representing the moral and ethical features which working people and the country stand so much in need of today.

This implies a specific appeal to the younger generation. It boils down to the idea that the OKON formula of activity coincides completely with the ideological and moral-training goals set before the youth-activists who belong to ZSMP.

The speaker pointed out the desire to authentic organic action not only among ZSMP members. This creates a good foundation for liberating the energy of youth, its knowledge, its qualifications, and its ingenuity for the good of the socialist fatherland. Great issues do not come to birth right away. They are made up of the straightforward building of what appear to be minor little issues. Today many such problems concern young people directly and very painfully.

For this reason the younger generation's participation in OKON activity is creating a great opportunity for young people to become involved in solving broader-scale problems which extend beyond their group interests in the narrow sense. This is also a chance for the younger generation to take up problems in a substantial way and not an instrumental one.

Because the multigroup nature of ZSMP represents an opportunity for participation in the union in the role of spokesman for the generation and not part of it, the national renaissance movement can and should be an important new inspiration for the union, in terms of program activity.

By integrating with members of other youth organizations on this plane, ZSMP members can provide the movement with initiative in moral-training and organizing work to solve problems, so that their social results are positive and verifiable, and in mobilizing all the available untapped reserves to overcome the crisis in an effective way.

The participants at the meeting emphasized in the discussion the great significance of the participation of young people, including ZSMP members, in the activity of OKON. Youth's participation in this social movement confirms the younger generation's sense of responsibility for the fate of the country, which is sometimes questioned. As ZSMP members, it was stated, we have the right and obligation to take part in the building of the future of our socialist state, for example, just by our activity in OKON.

During the meeting many various sorts of initiative and forms of work by young OKON members were presented. They participate, for example, in the work created in the various committees of the youth commissions and the social-welfare commissions. They help in resolving small but important problems related to the everyday life of their group. They take part in discussions on the future of the vocational movement.

An important sphere of interest for young OKON activists concerns the matter of shaping young people's awareness and their moral upbringing. In many committees production issues are also brought up, like the better use of materials and secondary raw materials. It was emphasized that activity which encourages social action in OKON should be an important form of preparation for young representatives to take a future part in the activity of the representation bodies. The further expansion of youth participation in the OKON movement was listed as essential.

Mentioning other voices in the discussion, Gen J. Baryla talked in his address about the problems of the current sociopolitical situation in the country and emphasized in this context the tasks for young OKON activists.

J. Jaskiernia emphasized the importance of the presence and activity of ZSMP members in OKON. They are important in two ways. On the one hand, this is a sort of political act confirming the support which the ZSMP grants to WRON decisions. On the other hand, it aids in the better solving of the groups' concrete problems. The speaker stated that the discussion at the meeting revealed the need to gather experience and knowledge from the activity of the ZSMP members in the committees operating within the various groups.

The exchange of experiential knowledge should also take place in the various voivodships. The young activists of the committees in operation and of those coming into being could help each other by giving help and advice, resolving many human problems on a day-to-day basis. Such a goal will be illuminated and will help the next national Polish meeting of ZSMP activists who are members of OKON, which will be held in a few months.

10790
CSO: 2600/534

RZESZOW PARTY PLENUM REPORT NOTED

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 31 Mar 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by (reb, si): "Basis of Party Consolidation--Common Goals of Activity and Means of Their Implementation"]

[Text] The central Committee Seventh Plenum materials continue to be discussed in detail at the organized regional conferences of the aktiv and at the OOP (Departmental Party Organizations) and POP (Primary Party Organizations) meetings. The tasks and most urgent measures relating both to the question of intra-party as well as socioeconomic matters, expressed in these documents, are being translated into the language of practical activities, taking into account the conditions specific to a given community.

The problems of consolidating the party rank-and-file, and the restoration of authority and organization ties with the workforces and inhabitants, have an important place in the Seventh Plenum resolution. Yesterday's, 30 March 1982, plenary meeting of the PZPR KW (Voivodship Committee) meeting in Rzeszow, was devoted to defining the detailed tasks of the echelons and the POP in rebuilding the strength and ideological and political unity of the voivodship party organizations, as well the directions of the propaganda work.

In addition to the members of the voivodship party authorities, the Rzeszow governor, Henryk Ficek, and the chairman of the Voivodship People's Council, Franciszek Kruczynski, participated in the deliberations, which were conducted by the KW first secretary, Franciszek Karp.

The Executive Board report was delivered by the KW party secretary, Jan Kwolek. He stated that the Rzeszow voivodship party organization entered into the period of martial law in a clearly weakened condition. This was caused primarily by the earlier, prolonged, deliberately intensified attack by the extremist "Solidarity" groups and centers of anti-socialist opposition. Those comrades and those organizations who resisted this pressure and who appealed for reason and thought were especially attacked. The accountability wave, which was the natural reflex of the party's self-purging, was exploited by the political opposition in the form of a brutal attack against the party aktiv.

The occupation of the administration buildings in seven gminas of the Rzeszow voivodship, the strikes in the colleges, the preparation for strikes in the schools, and the preparations for a general strike in the plants--these are examples of the sharp offensive of the political opposition. Many party organizations, during the 16-month period from August to December, became, under these circumstances, ideologically disarmed.

As a result of the turn-in of party membership cards by some of the comrades, and also the party rank-and-file purges made by the echelons and the party control commissions, the PZPR voivodship organization, which had over 51,000 members prior to August 1980, now has slightly over 40,000 comrades.

Martial law created a favorable situation for gathering strength in the party, for undertaking activities restoring the correct meaning to the word "socialism", and for developing active party life. The formation, in December of last year, of seven regional party work centers was advantageous, as practice is showing, for the tightening of the ties of the voivodship party authorities with the local elements and party members, and the working people. Without replacing the party committees, they are fulfilling their role and function as an inspirator and coordinator of party actions better and better.

A condition for the success of all activities aimed at strengthening the party's leadership role is the consistent observance in practice of all, without exception, Leninist principles of party life. And here we must remember, emphasized the KW secretary, that the party's large loss of credibility can be gradually regained only through absolute enforcement of the statutory principles in relation to all party members, without exception. Mass ideological-training work will also be organized for the purpose of instilling Marxist-Leninist knowledge.

Efforts in the struggle for people's awareness must be connected with progress in economic activity. Yet last year in the voivodship's industry was marked by an 8.7 percent drop in production. Nor was the 1980 level of production intended for the market attained. The direct cause of the decline in production was the great deterioration in supplies of raw and other materials, fuel and energy. But the continuous strikes, causing a drop in productivity, work discipline, and disruption of coproduction, also had an effect on our economy. Tasks this year are being implemented with these burdens, but in a more quiet atmosphere. Most workplants are fulfilling the plans assumed for the current year regularly and a growth tendency in production from month to month is being observed.

One of the important party tasks at present is to win over the intelligentsia. The party organizations in the Rzeszow academic community have become actively involved in the partywide debate on party and state matters, which was going on before the Ninth Congress. However, after the Congress a decline in party activities in colleges occurred, with the exception of POP in Maria Curie-Sklodowska University branch. The long student strike and the anti-party publications wreaked great havoc in the awareness of the students, particularly the younger ones.

After great effort by the college organizations, the Rzeszow higher schools were properly prepared for beginning lessons again. The college organizations also conducted an evaluation of the managerial cadre of the colleges, departments, institutes and plants. In total, 11 academic teachers in the Rzeszow community were removed from their jobs with students.

The party's next task, stressed the KW secretary, is to regain influence among youth. Only a logical, cohesive party program, created with the participation of all of the youth, can bring about the active involvement of the young people in the building of the country's socialist future.

The idea of national accord is a component part of the PZPR's strategic program and constitutes a permanent element of the Ninth Congress' line. Over 100 Committees of National Salvation (KON) are now functioning in the Rzeszow voivodship and future committees will be formed on the base of almost 100 initiative groups. They are undertaking a number of political and socioeconomic measures, actively supporting the activities being undertaken by the Military Council of National Salvation (WRON).

The way to a genuine consolidation of the party is based on common goals of activity and means of their implementation. In these undertakings, the condition of unity of activities of all members of the party organization in the voivodship must be fulfilled.

Eleven comrades took the floor in the discussion. In many of the expressions it was emphasized that the basic condition for the rebuilding of the POP's and OOP's authority, establishing a common language with the workers' teams, is their constant presence among the workforce, daily concern and interest in the working people's complaints, and effective support in resolving these difficulties.

That is how the PZPR plant organization in the Mielec Transportation Equipment Plant, now numbering 4,000 members, sees its role. Hence, as its first secretary Zbigniew Niziolek said, great importance is attached to social matters, workers' working and living conditions, and the method of applying the assumptions of economic reform, in the activities of the plant and OOP echelons. The representative of the Mielec Transportation and Equipment Plant also pointed to the need for attaching proper importance to training and teaching work, which should be implemented from the foundations.

Referring to tasks pertaining to ideological training in the party, Rajmund Lewicki, BWA (Bureau of Art Exhibitions) director, vice chairman of the KW Culture Commission, said that past deficiencies in this field are due to the fact that proper scientific studies and analyses of the effectiveness of training activity are not being made. The only measure of ideological work thus far, the dissemination of Marxist-Leninist attitudes and political knowledge, has been the number of lectures given and the number of persons in attendance.

Another discussant, KW member, assistant director of the Propaganda and Agitation Department, Adam Rauch, emphasized that the task of disseminating the abc's of Marxism cannot now, in any echelon and organization, be treated as a secondary matter, or be treated timidly. Further on in his expression, he referred to the political clericalism offensive which is now taking place, actions having nothing in common with priestly activities.

Zdzislaw Siewierski, KW Executive Board member, chairman of the ZW (Voivodship Administration) ZSMP (Union of Socialist Polish Youth), spoke about the deficiencies in training and ideological work among the young generation, particularly emphasizing the need to first involve the youth aktiv in this work. It is also important that a new model of ideological upbringing be defined, a model uniting both the efforts of the school, the family, the organizations, as well as the community. The chairman of ZW ZSMP spoke out in favor of a program for building political unity in the youth movement.

Many discussants criticized the past assistance and contacts of the aktiv and members of the voivodship echelon, and also its management, with the lowest party elements. Ryszard Fus, KW Executive Board member, and first secretary of the KM (City Committee) in Lancut, also called attention to this. Many POP or OOP lack strong support, the penetration force, necessary to solve often basic problems in their community. Frequently standing in the path of this, said the ROPP (Regional Party Work Center) manager in Kolbuszowa, Adam Czartoryski, are personal arrangements, bureaucratic complications, and even ill will. This is caused, among other things, by the lack of satisfactory results in putting into effect many suggestions made at party meetings. Yet, to authenticate the party and the authorities, he said, is to show society that all of the justifiable proposals and demands are being, insofar as possible, effectively implemented. This kind of consistency and resoluteness is particularly needed in implementing party resolutions; in past years, many of them remained simply in the form of recorded documents.

Jan Nawloka, KZ (Plant Committee) member, OOP secretary from FRUKTOPOL, and Jozef Kalisz, GS (Gmina Cooperative) in Frysztak, also talked about the complicated conditions in which the primary party organizations must function today. It is very hard to conduct political work in a rural community. People evaluate the party's program mainly in terms of the present reality, i.e., the market situation.

Ryszard Beres, first secretary of POP in the NOWINY editorial office, discussed the conditions under which the newspaper and the editorial team had to function during the past months. He presented the results of a political evaluation conducted on the journalists. A large majority of the members of the NOWINY team passed this most difficult test of ideological and political responsibility and maturity. The first secretary of the POP in our editorial office also described the more important information-publicity undertakings of NOWINY in the implementation of the Seventh Plenum resolution. Speaking about the team's current work problems, he pointed to the lack of reaction, especially recently, to criticism of the press, which, of course, most often follows the wishes of the readers.

A similar theme dominated also in the opinions expressed by writer Jan Lysakowski, member of the KW Executive Board. He expressed concern about the decision to liquidate PROMETEJ [a student's social and cultural problems monthly publication], which has further diminished what is already a very modest publications market in our region.

Bronislaw Galant, deputy commander of the voivodship Citizens Militia (MO), also took part in the discussion. He described the current state of order and security in the Rzeszow voivodship. Speaking about the persons interned from the Rzeszow area, he said that thus far, 77 percent of them have already been released.

At the conclusion of the deliberations, the Plenum approved the program of activities of the party committees and organizations in behalf of rebuilding the party's strength and ideological-political unity in the Rzeszow voivodship. Also, the Plenum relieved Julian Krochmal, chairman of the Voivodship Party Control Commission, of his duties as member of the KW and member of the KW Executive Board, in connection with the provision of the PZPR Statute that a Party Control Commission member cannot hold an elective office in a Committee of this same level.

POLAND

BRIEFS

NEW GDANSK UNIVERSITY RECTOR--The minister of science, higher schools and technology has removed Prof Robert Glebocki from his post as rector of Gdansk University and has appointed in his place Prof Bronislaw Rudowicz. Prof Rudowicz completed his studies at the Higher School of Economics in Sopot and acquired the title of doctor and a docent degree. In 1972 the Council of State conferred upon him the title of associate professor, and that of full professor seven years later. At Gdansk University he has served as dean of the Faculty of Transportation Economics for two terms and has been the director of the Institute of Political Economy since the university was founded. Prof Rudowicz is a specialist in political economy, is a well-known and highly regarded academic employee, and a member of numerous national and foreign commissions. He has been singled out for numerous awards for his research and teaching-upbringing achievements. [Excerpts] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 24-25 Apr 82 p 2]

CSO: 2600/601

DETAILS OF KOSOVO 'COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY' GROUPS, LINKS ABROAD

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 6 Apr 82 pp 80-84

[Article by Zivko Milic: "From the Troika to a Network"]

[Text] The weekly DANAS is the first paper in the country to publish exhaustive data on the convicted protagonists of the counterrevolution in Kosovo, which it is doing in this series of installments. Who are these people, how did they grow up, what have they done, how were they organized, how did they carry out the attack, and who--in Yugoslavia and abroad--helped them?

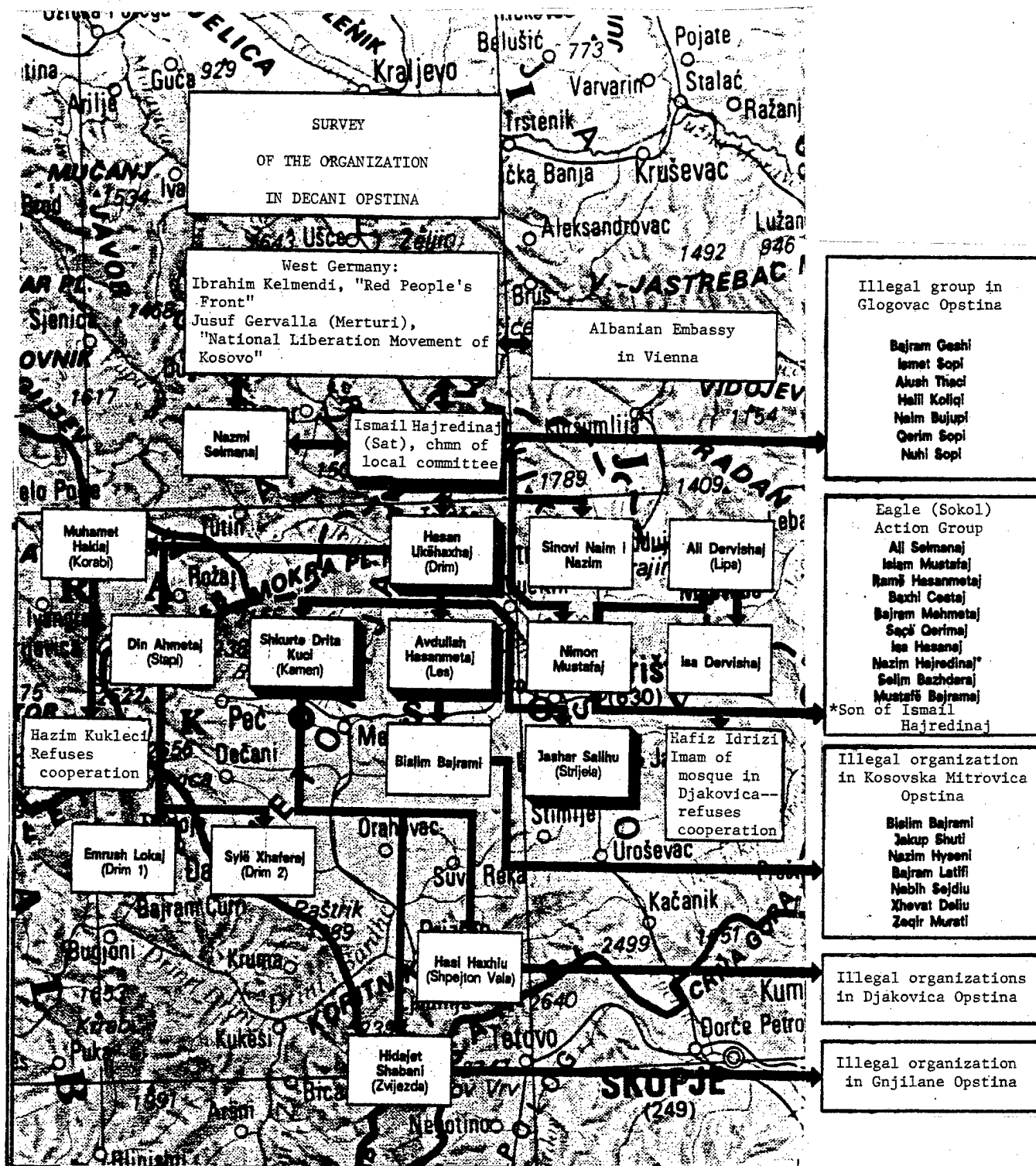
Zivko Milic, our editor and columnist in Belgrade, has read thousands of pages of the unknown documents which served as evidence during the well-known court trials. This is a series of research articles based on real people, events and facts.

The previously unknown information contained in the court verdicts pronounced in SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] Kosovo and SR [Socialist Republic] Montenegro and Macedonia are being published here for the first time. The convicted persons whose names we mention here have mostly served their sentences, and we do not here weigh those decisions which remain in the exclusive jurisdiction of the courts. In this story about counterrevolutionary crimes and the punishment of society we were primarily interested in the incontestable facts, which in and of themselves tell us so much about the social, political and economic moment, which the domestic and foreign enemies of a unified, socialist, self-managing and nonaligned Yugoslavia attempted to take advantage of in such a brutal and untruthful way.

Those--either in the country, but especially in certain foreign quarters--who still assert that the counterrevolution in Kosovo is a political tale which has been exaggerated in order to meet certain political and economic requirements will find in this series of installments enough evidence that it was a question of an attempt to overthrow the basic constitutional principles of our community.

Unlawfully ... and forcibly ... and indeed even with weapons.

And how could all this have happened?



Here we do not answer that decisive question exclusively with political assessments--they are already very well known and repeated many times--but on the basis of the verdicts we also indicate those oversights which made it possible for such a ramified network to be knitted together and so many young people led astray.

Thus in this series by our Belgrade editor Zivko Milic the terms which have been mentioned so many times in our press, such as the counterrevolution, counterrevolutionary elements and counterrevolutionary organizations, for the first time take on their real content on the basis of real facts.

The graphic survey accompanying this article shows the groups in other opstinas which we will be speaking about in the installments to come. The names of the members of the local committee in Decani are given in the boxes with a wider border, the underground nicknames are given in parentheses, and the arrows show who recruited whom or who attempted to include whom in the counterrevolutionary network.

[First Installment]

The instructions of those giving orders in West Germany were especially strict concerning the organization of action troikas and special contacts and also on recruitment of new members.

On 5 and 6 August 1981 there were 11 defendants--10 men and 1 woman, 9 teachers and 2 students, before the District Court in Pec, before a panel of judges presided over by Riza Loci. They were all arrested on 10 May except two men brought to justice on 11 May and 4 June 1981.

They were charged under Articles 131 and 136 of the Yugoslav Criminal Code and also the provisions of Articles 135, 114 and 116 of the Criminal Code--that is, criminal responsibility for hostile activity and for entering into association for the sake of hostile activity. Stated in the simplest terms: The accused organized an illegal hostile organization in Decani which attempted to achieve its basic goal by secret activity--the separation of Kosovo and of our territories inhabited by Albanians from our common homeland and their annexation to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. That is the most economical way of saying everything that was spelled out so extensively in the indictment of the District Public Prosecutor's Office in Pec on 20 July 1981.

By the time the indictment was brought, nine of them had been in pretrial custody for 71 days, one of the two others had spent 70 days in prison, and the other 46 days. What happened during the investigation, how did the interrogation and talks with the interrogators go? We did not learn this, since we read only the verdicts--which are public documents--but during the trial, which was also public, it was established that the procedure was normal. None of them made charges of abuse or unlawful pressures, which had occurred in certain other trials. In the trial they all admitted membership in the illegal organization, though in their defense and in the defense of counsel they tried to diminish their responsibility as much as possible.

Who are these people? They are all of Albanian nationality, citizens of the SFRY. The first of the accused, Ismail Hajredinaj (age 39), physical education teacher in the Drita Elementary School in Gramacel, Decani Opstina, father of five children, was unquestionably the one who initiated establishment of the illegal organization, for which he was sentenced to 14 years in prison (under Article 48 of the Criminal Code). After him came his contemporary Hasan Ukehaxhaj, teacher of Albanian language in the Vellezerit Frasheri School Center for Vocational Education in Decani, father of four children; and then Avdullah Hasanmetaj (32), mathematics teacher and apsolvent [student who has completed the course work, but not the final examinations for a degree--translator's note] at the School of Philosophy, Division of Natural Sciences and Mathematics, father of three children, also employed in the same school in Decani, which was also the place of employment for the next accused, the English teacher Jashar Salihu (29), unmarried, and also Muhamet Haklaj, listed 10th in the indictment, a teacher and apsolvent of the School of Natural Sciences and Mathematics.

Four of the five mentioned were thus employed in one and the same school in Decani. Two--the first--accused Ismail Hajredinaj, and the 11th on the indictment, the geography teacher Nimon Mustafaj, the oldest in the group (age 44), father of six children, who was the last to be arrested and received the lightest sentence in the first instance (3 years)--worked in the Gramacel Elementary School in Decani Opstina. The others were employed in varied institutions or places or did not work at all. Thus the youngest of all the accused, Shkurte-Drita Kuci (26), a woman who taught Albanian, was unmarried, and worked in the Xhevdet Doda School Center in Pristina, while Xhavid Hoxha was a geography teacher in the Nexhmedin Nixha School Center in Djakovica.

Of the other three accused one was a professor of English and Anglo-American literature--Din Ahmetaj (35), and the other two were students--Nazmi Selmanaj (28), in his third year at the School of Engineering in Pristina, and Ali Dervishaj (22), in his first year at the School of Philosophy, Department of Philosophy.

It was worthwhile to give all this to show that this is one social category, mainly young educated people who are studying or who have completed their studies in socialist Yugoslavia, most of them teachers or people who should have become teachers. It is interesting, however, that out of this group of 11 people, which, as we shall see, established ties in the illegal organization, all of five were born in the same village, Glodjane, and two in the village Junik, which speaks eloquently about still another cause of the homogenization of the group.

These, then, were the figures in that court drama which we are presenting as it was seen in the courtroom. The origin--which was clear at the very outset--was abroad. That type of linkage is important as one of the dimensions of the 1981 events in Kosovo, but naturally it is still not the sole explanation. Foreign fingers played an important role in encouraging and urging people with a hostile disposition, but primarily from the neighboring People's Socialist Republic of Albania, where a systematic and direct effort was made to set up a network of agents.

Let us begin by reading the truth:

Jusuf Gervalla (Merturi), a RILINDJE newsman who had fled, and Ibrahim Kelmendi, had been working against Yugoslavia for a long time already in Duisburg, West Germany. Both had previously distinguished themselves in the country as separatists and irredentists in the service of Great Albanian goals. Certainly it is not a question of mere individuals, but of people who represent the so-called "National Liberation Movement of Kosovo" and the so-called "People's Red Front" (we will be meeting those organizations frequently hereafter in our series), which managed to operate not only abroad, but also in Kosovo itself and among Albanians settled in other parts of our country.

Those two from those two organizations, which in their goals are as like as peas in a pod and issue the respective newspapers GLASNIK SLOBODE [HERALD OF FREEDOM] (edited by Gervalla) and JEDINSTVO [UNITY] (edited by Kelmendi), which are published in Albanian abroad and illegally distributed in our

country, especially among citizens of Albanian nationality, operated as representatives of the anti-Yugoslav emigre command center and--judging by what was established in the trial in Pec and from the so-called "Program of the National Liberation Movement of Kosovo"--on behalf of certain services of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and its government.

But let us see what this actually looked like.

Without discussing on this occasion how many of the accused in this case were actually typical representatives of the Kosovo Irredenta, the fact remains that as relatively young or aspiring educated people they had displayed all the signs of nationalistic orientation (in 1979 and before) even before they set up the illegal organization. Thus the idea of organizing the Local Committee of the NOPK [National Liberation Movement of Kosovo]--which came as an order from abroad from Kelmendi and Gervalla--fell on fertile soil. On fertile soil although these were mostly employed and well-off individuals who had an almost privileged position in the Kosovo community, since as rural children they had completed or were completing higher educational institutions and had all obtained jobs immediately. These should not be privileges, but compared to the rest of the country it was a certain privilege and advantage. The schools they finished were socialist schools, our schools, and when this large group of accused and convicted persons graduated from them, many returned to their own community to bring up future generations themselves. They were supposed to be giving their pupils much more new knowledge and much more modern conceptions, and to be instilling in them the true values of a socialist self-managing society and of our community consensus. But they ended up in court, having gone wrong.

But in this case our schools were a complete failure, at least insofar as these individuals are involved, and the community in which they lived and worked and brought up children obviously underestimated the force of nationalism, irredentism and separatism. Someone might say that it all began with harmless demonstrations and unimportant errors, but all this still became much much more serious because of the irresponsibility, lack of concern and lack of vigilance of the community.

The court did not investigate how Ismail Hajredinaj came upon the idea of contacting Jusuf Gervalla; they simply knew one another well. In early April 1980 Ismail Hajredinaj sent Nazmi Selmanaj, a student in electronics at the School of Engineering in Pristina, born in 1955, to Duisburg as a carrier of letters and messages for Jusuf Gervalla, a political emigre. The teacher and student came from the same village, and obviously there were no secrets or uncertainties between them concerning their common political convictions. This hostile orientation of theirs was also clear to Gervalla, who received the student Selmanaj cordially and in full confidence.

Gervalla, editor of the periodical we have mentioned GLASNIK SLOBODE, the newspaper of the so-called National Liberation Movement of Kosovo, introduced Selmanaj to Ibrahim Kelmendi, editor of the other emigre newspaper (JEDINSTVO, organ of the so-called "People's Red Front"). Both that newspaper and that organization are based on the ideology of the Albanian Workers Party, with its

full support. The basic goal of all those groups and newspapers has long been well known: separation of SAP Kosovo and other regions of Yugoslavia inhabited by Albanians so that they might be annexed to the Socialist Republic of Albania.

Jusuf Gervalla went right to the point. He gave to the student Selmanaj the bylaws and program of the NOPK and spelled out very precise instructions for establishing the Local Committee in Decani Opstina (under the strictest rules of underground organization). Judging by what was said in the trial, it is obvious that Gervalla was no amateur, but a specialist in special warfare. He was quite familiar with both people and conditions in Decani Opstina and was certain of the names of those he could trust. Five people were to be members of the Local Committee--as he told Selmanaj, so that the latter could pass all this on to Hajredinaj: Ismail Hajredinaj, Nazmi Selmanaj, Nimon Mustafaj, also from the village Glodjane, and also two hodjas, one the imam of the mosque in the village Drenovci and the other from Djakovica.

One instruction was very significant, though a bit unusual: To draw into the illegal organization, which was aided and guided by NSR [People's Socialist Republic] Albania--"the first atheistic state in the world"--Moslem priests, who by the nature of their work have dealings with a great number of people, and they have a particular influence among the religious, and therefore could be used very cynically as a weapon of Great Albanian policy. No, Jusuf Gervalla was not naive, though it later turned out that he had mistakenly evaluated one hodja, who, when they began to recruit him, refused cooperation.

As soon as Nazmi Selmanaj returned to Decani, he passed on in detail all the instructions of Jusuf Gervalla for Ismail Hajredinaj. The instructions were especially strict concerning organization on the principles of action troikas and personal contacts, as well as those on recruitment of new members. All of them together were to gather as much information showing SAP Kosovo and the SFRY in a bad and untruthful light--and to send it on.

Ismail Hajredinaj, who through Selmanaj had acquainted Gervalla with his own counterrevolutionary designs, carried out the instructions immediately. Alone and with those he talked with and his fellow conspirators he studied the bylaws and program of the NOPK as required by Gervalla, and he made contact with Hasan Ukehaxhaj and Din Ahmetaj, in whose house they held the first meeting. In accordance with the instructions of Jusuf Gervalla, they contacted Nimon Mustafaj, whom they familiarized with the bylaws and program of the NOPK and commissioned (which was also requested in West Germany) to contact Hafiz Idrizi, hodja in Djakovica.

The organization began to come to life and to operate, though not exactly with the same members which Jusuf Gervalla in West Germany had imagined and not exactly with the same conception, but still quite similar to his conception and altogether in conformity with it. Not that everything went well. For instance, Nimon Mustafaj traveled to Djakovica in the attempt to recruit the hodja Hafiz Idrizi, but the latter refused everything when he realized what was being proposed to him. This recruitment of hodjas was not altogether to the liking of either Ismail Hajredinaj or Hasan Ukehaxhaj, since they did not

agree to the hodjas as members of a committee which supposedly was operating from Marxist political-ideological viewpoints. Thus the conspirators did not take seriously the ideological mask which the Albanian Irredenta liked to put on. But the recruitment did after all begin, and by July 1980 the first meeting of the Local Committee was held in the house of Ismail Hajredinaj, and on that occasion, after discussing the bylaws and program, underground names were assigned. Hajredinaj became Eagle of Clock, Ukehaxhaj--Drim [a river], Hasanmetaj--Forest, the newly recruited Jashar Salihu--Arrow, and Shkurte-Drita Kuci--Stone. All the members were given the task of obtaining and distributing propaganda material and of increasing the membership. Every member of the committee--as well as the others--had to provide his own contact, who would then go on to form the troika. And then the troika would create a troika, and so on. The way the organization spread is shown by our illustration, from which it is evident who recruited and linked whom all the way to the detection and arrest of that illegal group. Our illustration also shows how the instruction of Jusuf Gervalla was carried out concerning the spreading of the nucleus from Decani Opstina into several other Kosovo opstinas. For example, the contact of Avdullah Hasanmetaj (Bislim Bajrami of Kosovska Mitrovica) was the contact with a separate illegal group in the same city. The same was done by the contacts of Shkurte-Drita Kuci--Hasi Haxhiu in Djakovica, Hidajet Shabani in Gnjilane, while Ismail Hajredinaj's contact--Bajram Gashi--led into Glogovac Opstina.

Of course, the District Court in Pec, like every other court, is not engaged in detecting illegal counterrevolutionary organizations, nor on this occasion did it even investigate to what extent the accused and convicted actually managed to spread the network of their organization. But obviously it did not end with just the names we have mentioned, though it is characteristic of the organizational methods and principles on which the enemy did base his action in Kosovo. As Franjo Herljevic, federal secretary for internal affairs, declared immediately after the March and April events last year, the principle of the troika, the pair or the individual contact are the universal stock in trade of illegal organizations such as the so-called "Red Front" and the so-called "National Liberation Movement of Kosovo." All of this is also confirmed by the written bylaws of those hostile organizations.

The tie of the Local Committee in Decani with organizations abroad continued even after establishment of the illegal group. As soon as the committee was established, Ismail Hajredinaj, its chairman, personally went to West Germany to meet Gervalla, and he was accompanied by his sons Naim and Nazim. He reported there on the work that had been done and proposed what else should be done in Decani and throughout Kosovo. Jusuf Gervalla on the other hand informed Ismail that his committee in Decani had been recognized by NSR Albania and that the contact with the so-called "National Liberation Movement of Kosovo" was being maintained through the Albanian Embassy in Vienna. Of course, most of the conversation was devoted to working out tasks for the future, above all those related to winning over new members and supporters. Hajredinaj also met with one of the chiefs of the so-called "People's Red Front," Ibrahim Kelmendi. Both emigres required that they continue to be sent reports portraying Kosovo and Yugoslavia in a bad light so that anti-Yugoslav and Great Albanian propaganda could be intensified.

After returning to the country Ismail Hajredinaj (in late September 1980) called another meeting of the Local Committee, which was attended by all members except Jashar Salihu, who had gone off to do military service. Hasan Ukehaxhaj became secretary, and Avdullah Hasanmetaj treasurer, the latter very carefully keeping the list of dues that had been paid in the amount of 100 dinars monthly. The third meeting was held in October 1980, again in Hajredinaj's house, where a critical assessment was made of both the committee and the organization. A list was drawn up of new tasks and there was debate about possible new members. Thus Din Ahmetaj--who had previously been nominated a member of the Local Committee--was rejected because of "instability and inconsistency." His nomination was dismissed, and he became an ordinary contact.

A decision was made at the fourth meeting of the Local Committee that Avdullah Hasanmetaj would go to the new meeting in West Germany--the third with Gervalla and Kelmendi; in the interval between the third and fourth meetings of this illegal group Hasanmetaj had served a sentence he received from a judge for misdemeanors. The fact is that this underground group--and we believe that this also occurred in other opstinas in Kosovo--was exceedingly active. That is why Hasanmetaj had been punished (20 days in prison, since hostile propaganda material such as the GLASNIK SLOBODE already mentioned, had turned up in report cards at the Vellezerit Frasheri School Center), but--regardless of the sentence--he had immediately gone off to the fourth meeting of his underground organization, where he reported at length on everything he had learned during his imprisonment. In Decani Opstina at that time, and indeed even before, inscriptions of the names of Montenegrin and Serb heroes had been erased and defaced, hostile slogans had been written, and leaflets and other illegal propaganda materials had been distributed. That is, the "Eagle" Action Group, which was headed by Ali Selmanaj, who was later charged in a second trial, had ties to the Local Committee. But Avdullah Hasanmetaj still did not manage to go to the third meeting with the foreign directors of the operation, since a majority of this underground group were arrested on 10 May, and the leader and members were convicted to prison sentences of 14, 11, 9, 7, 6, 5, 4 and 3 years in the verdict in the first instance. In their defense and the defense of their attorneys Avdylaziz Daci, Mustafa Radoniqi, Gavril Vulevic and Adem Bajra--they all testified that they were not aware of what they were doing, that they did not enter the organization willingly, or they had deliberately been inactive, but that did not greatly mitigate their criminal responsibility. After all, they had all studied the documents of the NOPK and Red Front and were unambiguously informed about what was written there: "The NOPK is," their programmatic document states, "the vanguard of the struggle for the social and national liberation from Yugoslavia and for unification with the parent country, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania." And it was in fact that spirit which they followed.

The trial and verdict in Pec are very important. That trial revealed how and why what we have all judged to be a counterrevolution came to occur in March 1981 in Kosovo and elsewhere. All taken together, it indicates our own shortcomings, but also the planned, organized and systematic operation of the enemy and his basic methods. All of this together proves the linkage between the domestic enemies and the emigre centers and foreign services. This event offers many lessons, but not all the lessons. This is only a part of the truth

about the tragic events in Kosovo. And we will be speaking about other aspects and truths in an analysis of the other trials and investigations. In our next installments we will be speaking about them and the action groups which openly committed various misdeeds.

7045

CSO: 2800/369

ZAGREB PROFESSOR NOTES REVERSION TO 'SCARCITY SOCIETY'

Zagreb POLET in Serbo-Croatian 31 Mar 82 pp 4-5

[Interview with Dr. Josip Zupanov, professor at the Faculty of Political Sciences in Zagreb, by POLET journalist Renata Pondeljask-Matijevic; date and place not specified: "Saying Goodbye to a Consumer Society"]

[Text] POLET: In the 1970's, economists felt that at the end of the decade Yugoslavia would be classed as an advanced industrial society because per capita income would be between \$1500 and \$4000. Regardless of this, the question comes up of how much of a role industrial society plays in the culture of our country?

Zupanov: This question is irrelevant today. We are reverting to a scarcity society. A developed industrial society primarily entails development of the tertiary sector, and this means that the primary and secondary sections have to be strong enough to support such a development. Every increase in the number of people employed in the tertiary sector is a real nightmare for our economy, and so we are now saying goodbye to a consumer society, while a post-industrial society is further beyond a consumer society. I recently read, as a reviewer, the manuscript of a new book by Professor Arzenšek on alienation, in which he investigates value orientations. It can be seen, for example, that among Yugoslav workers an extrinsic motivational orientation is completely predominant; this means that people do not care about what kind of work they are doing, or whether they can express themselves in their work. On the contrary, what is important to them is how much money they will receive and what they can buy for this money. This extrinsic motivation, which is markedly present in the working class and in other strata as well, will be increased even more now. We are thus moving further away now from a postindustrial society, as galaxies move away from the center of the universe.

POLET: Self-management is by definition more suited to a postindustrial society than a consumer one, but you have just said that we are "saying goodbye" to a consumer society, and that we are not moving toward a postindustrial society, but rather moving away from it. What does this mean for the development of self-management?

Zupanov: Self-management will be developed as a formal mechanism, and thus will not have a significant place in people's daily lives, but will rather

represent the idling of institutions. These institutional forms, however, will not be immune from governmental interventions either, and there will be more and more of them.

Hierarchy and Self-Management, From Top to Bottom

POLET: In addition to the self-management mechanism, an administrative mechanism is also active in our firms. What could be the result of such a combination of horizontal and vertical systems of operation?

Zupanov: This is a type of model organization structure that is known in the West in public administration, and we therefore often call it the public administration model. There are two levels in the organization of this structure: a level for making the major decisions, on which elective bodies work, and a level for carrying them out, which is a classic hierarchical structure. Naturally, the link between these two levels is the director of the enterprise, who is by law a member of the managing board and is at the same time the head of the administrative hierarchy. The main question is whether the hierarchical principle can be included in self-management. I think that it cannot. Wherever there are hierarchical relationships of authority and power, self-managing bodies will not function as they are supposed to; this has at any rate been demonstrated by studies of the distribution of power in firms. The distribution of power is asymmetrical, and the self-managing bodies are strongly influenced by the administrative structure. The direct participation of workers in self-management is especially irreconcilable with the hierarchical principle. We should not be too naive, however, and think that a hierarchy can just be abolished. A hierarchy is associated with the concept of an enterprise and business, and an enterprise is linked to the market economy, so a hierarchy is to some extent inevitable. Nevertheless, we should take the achievements of science in northwestern Europe more into account; I am specifically thinking here of experiments with so-called autonomous groups. These are a completely new form of sociotechnical system that demonstrates that in a certain sense, hierarchies can be abolished, at least partially. This basically means beginning with self-management from the level of work place to the working group, but we are continually proceeding from the level of the enterprise and policy, and ignoring everyday work; it is therefore logical that if people cannot make decisions on what they do every day, how can they make decisions on something more complicated like business policy, investments, and so forth?

POLET: It can often be said that the organization of work in our firms is suitable for capitalist firms, which would mean that Taylorism or the "scientific organization of labor" is at work.

Zupanov: We would be making progress if we adopted Taylor's concept, because we are still in a pre-Taylor phase. We would make great progress in efficiency if we adopted the "scientific" organization of labor. Modern industry, however, is moving farther and farther away from Taylor today. For example, he is unfamiliar with the concept of flexitime, which is playing more and more of a role today in the developed countries, when a person decides himself when it is most convenient for him to work. There is also some flexitime in Yugoslavia, but I believe that it is still considered blasphemous in our country.

The fact that you have come to work at seven in the morning is more important than everything that you have done from seven to two. This is simply more a matter of respect for authority and power. For example, one of our firms ended up without the necessary material, and the workers sat at their places and read detective stories. The head of the shop came with the technical director for an inspection, and one worker sat and continued reading a detective story. After that the head of the shop reprimanded her severely. Why? Not because she wasn't doing anything, because there wasn't anything to do, but because she had not stood up when the technical director came in. Thus, our official exactness has a psychological function; it is supposed to show subordination, submission to the hierarchy, and not to ensure any effectiveness in work.

POLET: Self-management has established on the basis of a political initiative, and not [on the basis of] changes that had arisen because the production forces had prevailed over the existing production relations.

Zupanov: This is a problem in the development of socialism in relatively undeveloped countries. Instead of changing the social situation on the basis of the previously created capitalist industrialization and civilization in general, socialism just has to create the conditions that were created elsewhere by capitalism. This is thus a non-capitalist road to industrialization, as Rudolf Bahro calls it. Our situation is even somewhat more unique, because we introduced self-management "from above," and it did not originate in a mass movement "from below," nor could it have done so. Our prewar working class is small, and the working class at the time of the introduction of self-management consisted mainly of peasants who had come to the factories; they were thus unable to create a socialist self-managing movement "from below." Clearly, this development "from above" led to a forced institutionalization, and to attempts to solve everything by decrees and acts and forgetting about workers' activities; as for spontaneity—even though spontaneity is not the right word here, a workers' movement must always contain a certain dose of spontaneity if it does not want to degenerate.

Dependent on Technology

POLET: Where could a continued unselective and uncreative purchase of technologies and licenses with restrictive clauses take us?

Zupanov: We know where it has taken us, to dependence, and not just a technological dependence, but an economic one as well, because when you buy a technology you also obligate yourself to buy intermediate goods, and you have to pay for them in foreign exchange. Since it is not easy to acquire foreign exchange with the aid of the products that you produce and that someone has let you produce, the foreign exchange has to be acquired in another manner. How? A foreign capitalist sells a license in two cases; either a new technology is being prepared and he has to sell the old one and get what he can out of it before discarding it, or a new technology, of which the results are still uncertain, is being developed, and a test site is needed to try it out. In any case, this takes us into debt. We are up to our necks in debts now, although there are no precise data on this, because some people cite one figure and

other people cite another. We cannot break into a foreign market with products that we are making under a license from someone, because the one who sold us the license is already there. We can only break into a foreign market on the basis of their own intelligence, and the purchase of technology discourages domestic work on inventions.

POLET: In Yugoslavia, isn't the initiative in creative research work, and thus also in obtaining patents, in the hands of individuals instead of institutions?

Zupanov: The fact is that in Yugoslavia more inventions are patented by individuals than by institutions. This is approximately the situation that existed in the U.S. in 1888.

I think that the reason for this is that we have not succeeded in institutionalizing research work. In connection with this, I would single out the university. In Yugoslavia it is still primarily a teaching institution; to tell the truth, it is described as a teaching and scientific institution, but by far the greater part of it comprises teaching, rather than scientific work. The problem is that the university is not defined as an institution whose goal is to discover things, to work on innovations. In the West, it is the university that makes the unending spiral of innovations possible, because it is on the basis of this that its work is judged, and not on the basis of the number of students registered, the number of teaching hours, etc. I think that this is one of the reasons for such a situation.

POLET: In your opinion, can the draft law on guided education assist in this?

Zupanov: I do not see any possibility of discussing a reform rationally when such a social situation has been created here, and I will therefore not offer any comments.

POLET: A way out of our technological dependence on the West is being sought in alternative technologies. What does an alternative technology make possible for the country using it?

Zupanov: The idea of alternative technologies is a really good one. In contrast to the simplified viewpoint that the more highly developed a technology is, the fewer the choices, the view is emerging that no matter how highly developed a technology is, there are several equally valuable alternatives. This is apparent in the area of computer technology. Whose technology will be selected often does not depend on the technology itself, but rather on the structure of the organization; if the organization is centralized, a selection will be made that centralizes all of the information. In another case, another selection will be made. It is modern technology that creates the possibility of choice. There are a large number of studies on alternative sociotechnical systems, I am thinking of the combination of a technology, the technical and social organization of work, and the social structure. The question arises of which technology is more suitable for the developing countries, in contrast to the highly developed countries, and whether they should be separated from each other at all, in principle.

POLET: What can you say about the position and prospects of the younger generation, in view of the social and economic processes that are underway in Yugoslavia?

Zupanov: The younger generation is encountering and will continue to encounter the problem of unemployment, because it is the problem of those who have never even had a job, not of those who have lost one. If this is any comfort for young people, there will be more and more people losing their jobs now, but at the same time this means that it will be harder and harder for young people to get them. It seems that now the conventional wisdom is telling young people to become stonecutters and pavers, but this only means that if the young people listen to this there will be a saturation of these jobs as well. I think that young people will be in an increasingly more difficult situation, at least for the next few years. I do not see what could be done here. I wonder whether it has occurred that a group of young people have come together, wanting to establish an organization of associated labor themselves, on the basis of a program that they have offered to society for financing? This has not occurred. In other words, young people are in the situation of passively awaiting their fate.

POLET: This idea of a group of young people who would found a firm themselves has some points in common with the idea of developing industry. As far as we know, there are many difficulties facing small scale production.

Zupanov: In the developed industrial countries, for example in Japan, which does not know what a recession is, there are a large number of workers employed as artisans. The small trade industry there, however, operates as a subcontractor to heavy industry and is often automated. It is a significant subcontractor for heavy industry. This will still not work in our country. We either have to open up jobs in the social sector, or open cafes and various vague managerial jobs--these are approximately the prospects for small trade industry in Yugoslavia. Attempts are being made to recoup short term investment funds; this really indicates the uncertainty that exists in regard to the small trade industry. This is because there is a gap between the declared policy and the actual one. The light small trade industry is being verbally supported while the actual policy being conducted by the municipalities is restrictive, and the small trades are still a nonsystemic element in our institutional business system.

The Cult of Labor

POLET: In addition to the problem of the unemployment among young people, there is also a problem of some categories' being in short supply. Is the idea of the cult of labor that has been discussed recently connected with this?

Zupanov: It is usually when there is a danger of war that people talk most about peace. Thus we speak about the cult of labor when we want to induce young people by force to engage in certain working occupations. At any rate, this cult of labor is not any invention of ours. There is a certain cult of labor in almost all industrial countries; even in America, rich people work,

because it is felt that an unemployed person is heading toward demoralization. This is on top of the Puritan ethic and Max Weber.

We should not forget that we spoke a great deal about the cult of labor at the beginning of our postwar development. This did not last long, however. Then we became oriented toward a consumer mechanism: you work in order to earn money, and you earn money in order to spend it. Extrinsic motivation prevailed here, and little was said about work as an activity that was suitable for a person. It is quite likely that we are talking about the cult of labor now because this extrinsic motivation is becoming weaker for us; as soon as the standard of living goes back to what it was several years ago, you can no longer tell people to work in order to earn, when people are really earning less and can really spend less. If we cannot opt for extrinsic motivation, then we opt for social and ideological motivation, and this reminds me of what the Chinese used to say: "We work for red flags, and not for green bank notes." In the last 20 years, however, Yugoslavs have been so exclusively oriented toward earnings and consumption that they can now only perceive the cult of labor as a good joke.

POLET: In view of the conditions of production, are we justified in talking about the appearance of a new working class?

Zupanov: This idea of a new working class was originated by Serge Mallet, who felt that mutual occupations were less and less represented in the working class, that these occupations are less and less the ones supporting new production, and that a stratum of technicians, engineers, and other experts is increasingly entering the working class. I do not know whether we can speak of the formation of this new working class in our situation, because this formation would imply a modification of the boundary between physical and intellectual labor. In Yugoslavia, however, this boundary is sharp, and we will not reduce it by forcing a lot of young people to enter manual occupations. This does not modify the boundary, but instead even exacerbates it. We should distinguish the objective and subjective dimensions of this process. Objectively the development of technology and the incorporation of science into production would lead to the trend of the creation of a new working class. A new type of engineer is appearing in Yugoslavia, who does not shrink back from getting his hands dirty with a machine. It is question, however, of the subjective identification of this stratum with the working class. I recall one study in Sweden, in which people were supposed to state which group they belonged to, and thus give a subjective position from which it would be apparent which group they identified themselves with. A surprisingly large number of people in nonmanual occupations identified themselves with the working class. I am not sure of what the results of such a questionnaire would be in Yugoslavia, or whether some clerks and experts would identify themselves with the working class. In fact, it is often stated demagogically--we are the working class, etc., but this should not be understood literally, because I think that there is a social distance between this new stratum that is supposed to represent the new working class, and the real working class, I am not sure whether this process of subjective identification is underway, but objectively, automation by itself leads to work in an office becoming similar to work in a shop, and vice versa.

POLET: Is it possibly because of the social distance that you have just mentioned that there are interhuman relationship problems in our firms?

Zupanov: Status differences should be expected to lead to certain conflicts in communication. It is known in sociology that the person of higher status has the privilege of initiating communication; the person of lower status is not supposed to initiate communication, but should rather wait for it from below and respond to it. The system of self-management simply does not acknowledge these differences in status, and teaches people to initiate communications. Naturally, the one with higher status is irritated when the one with lower status initiates communication. This is probably not the only source of conflicts, but it probably makes it worse.

Self-Management, Information

POLET: Self-management in firms depends on the possibility of obtaining timely and reliable information. What do you think about this connection between the flow of information and self-management?

Zupanov: I have just read a master's thesis written by a postgraduate student who is employed as the secretary of a management body. He made a change in the system of informing the members of the workers' council, and noted the reactions. It is apparent that his experimental change caused a considerable change in the behavior of the workers at the meetings themselves. There is a possibility that the very development of self-management could be influenced by a better information system. Clearly, the limits within which these changes can be made are another matter. Those who have the power will not allow the information to slip out of their hands. Accordingly, there will be and are efforts to keep this information strictly controlled, and to provide only partial information. I do not think that this is the key to solving all of the problems, but there is undoubtedly some potential for changing human behavior in the area of information. This was eloquently demonstrated by the research of Professor Novosel.

POLET: What can this strict control of information give rise to?

Zupanov: I was speaking here about information within firms. This is a very marked type of control. It seems to me that the control of the mass media is even greater, although it is difficult to tell about that. I see that we are continually arguing over the press. For me, the events in Kosovo were one test. Things happened here in Kosovo that are really unbelievable: pictures of Tito were taken down and pictures of Enver Hoxha were put in textbooks. Such a practice could not have been maintained if there had been the least freedom of information and if one journalist had reported such a scandalous matter. Up until the last moment, however, until the uproar occurred, the news was kept under control.

9909

CSO: 2800/379

SERBIAN ORTHODOX CLERGY RESPOND TO PRESS ALLEGATIONS

Belgrade PRAVOSLAVLJE in Serbo-Croatian 1 Apr 82 pp 3-4

[Article by Dragan Terzic, priest, and letter to the editor by priest-monk Filaret in response to an article entitled "Forced Into a Monastery" by M. Bjelopoljac, published in ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA, 2 March 1982: "Once Again Concerning the Article 'Forced Into a Monastery'"]

[Text] [Terzic article] Concerning a Flap

An article by Mujo Bjelopoljac entitled "Forced Into a Monastery" was published in ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA on 2 March of this year. We read in the article that Dragan and Ljubinka Novakovic of Rudo had taken their daughter Vera to Zica Monastery for her to remain in the monastery as a novice. There would be nothing in that worth writing about in the papers if an alarm had not been raised on this occasion.

By way of introduction to this account the author begins with examining certain religious issues. For years the inhabitants have been disturbed because religion is reviving here once again, he says. And we say: If people are disturbed that religion is reviving, then in what creatures is it reviving if not in the people, since human beings are the bearers of religion. Which means that religion is reviving in the inhabitants, and they are in turn disturbed because religion is reviving. So, both the revival of religion and the feeling of being disturbed are occurring at one and the same time in people. We are obviously dealing here with the well-known fallacy--contradictio in adjecto. But it is still more erroneous to assert that religion is rising from the dead, since to rise from the dead it must first have been buried. And who was it, then, who buried religion so that it might now rise from the dead? As far as we are aware, religion cannot be buried. It may be more discreet or more public. Man is born with religion, and he remains in it, and the question of whether that attitude toward religion is positive or negative is another matter.

The reporter says that this action by the Novakovic's was condemned in the academic high school, and that young people in Rudo were also embittered by that act of Vera's parents. This condemnation and bitterness is worth a bit of discussion and reflection. What is the young people's opinion of the monastery? Monasteries have down through our entire history represented the most

glorious aspects of our people. In them people learned, prayed, wrote and painted. Whenever our cultural past is mentioned, one immediately thinks of the monasteries, since it is from them that the culture came. How is it that young people have received such distorted information about monasteries?

On the other hand young people are not embittered by those parents who in their good or bad upbringing make of their children drug addicts, alcoholics, thieves and burglars! In Belgrade alone more than 1,000 young addicts have been recorded. But this is regarded as more normal than for a young girl to enter a monastery. Young people do not get disturbed and are not embittered when thousands of young people fall into a trance when they hear the song: "Fools Die for Ideals" or when at similar concerts swastikas appear among the young people. But now when a young girl has gone into a monastery to fulfill the monastic ideals, they sound the alarm. Yet if the monasteries have become such sinister places, why do we tolerate their survival? Why do we not tear them down, or turn them into discotheques, warehouses and the like? In some countries this has in fact been done, but it is nothing to be proud of.

The article several times stresses that Vera wanted to study medicine or economics and that now her plans have been destroyed. However, she need not give up her studies when she goes into the monastery. She can study even in the monastery and graduate from the university and devote herself to science. Are there not quite a few women physicians and nurses in the world, including our own country, who are nuns as well? A few years ago a nun--Mother Teresa, received the Nobel Peace Prize. Her monasticism did not hinder her from receiving that highest world recognition. On the contrary, it came as the result of fulfilling the monastic ideals and the lessons of the Gospel.

The teacher Nada Narandzic has declared that she would gladly adopt Vera if they managed to get her out of the monastery and if her parents would not take her. This is truly touching on the part of that teacher. Her love for humanity is worthy of every praise, but is Vera after all the most deprived person we have? Is Vera the one who is in most need of adoption? This teacher might demonstrate her noble sentiment toward some abandoned child without parents who does not have anyone, if that is indeed what she wishes. But in this situation, such pronouncements smack a bit of hypocrisy, of false sympathy, of a hoked-up righteousness.

The newsman also talked with Omer Hota, chairman of the Opstina Conference of the League of Communists. Omer is also concerned about Vera's fate and says: "We know of the Novakovic family that they belong to the sect of zealots, which is rather widespread in Rudo Opstina. These are religious fanatics whom I as a man am altogether unable to understand." A man who has no hearing is altogether unable to understand, say, the music of Mozart. Thus we cannot expect Omer to understand Orthodox spirituality. But we would have to expect of a man who claims to discuss religion at least the most elementary familiarity with this field. Omer unfortunately has failed here. The zealots are not any kind of sect, but Orthodox believers. Every Orthodox adherent who prays to God is called a worshiper (bogomolilac)--zealot (bogomoljac). Logic would have it that all of us worshiper-zealots belong to the sect. The Orthodox Church has in its history also been called a heretic by some, but so far it has never been called a sect, but now Omer comes along and has done so.

Yet there is no need to be so concerned about Vera Novakovic. The Orthodox Church is not an organization built on violence, but an organization of freedom. Vera will remain in the monastery so long as she wishes, and if she expresses a desire to leave the monastery, no one will question her, nor restrain her. Christ did not say: You have to follow me, but: Follow me if you wish.

[Letter of priest-monk Filaret] Open Letter of a Monk

We have received many letters in which readers say that ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA has aroused religious intolerance. We reject this, since it seems that the editors did not do that intentionally. Nevertheless, we are awaiting an apology.

A certain Mr M. Bjelopoljac wrote an article entitled: "An Event Which Has Disturbed Rudo: Forced Into a Monastery," which was published in ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA (No 1217, 2 March 1982).

I was horrified and embittered by the degree of insincerity, maliciousness and shameful passing off of fabricated "information" with which that article abounds.

What actually was it about?

The author of the article, Mr Mujo, flagrantly attacks the honor of the Serbian Orthodox monastery in Zica and thereby publicly and irresponsibly offends the Serbian Orthodox Church itself, whose great contributions and historical, cultural and national integrity of Serbian identity I do not intend to discuss at all on this occasion. If Mujo Bjelopoljac should happen to take an interest in this field, let him address me personally or the monastery in Zica itself, and he will receive numerous thick volumes, those secular, historical and other studies which have been written on this topic. But it seems that Bjelopoljac is interested in something else and that other passions are tormenting him in this case.

In that article the writer informs the public that in the second half of the 20th century, in the heart of his free homeland, socialist Yugoslavia, the Zica Monastery kidnapped Vera Novakovic, who was a junior in the academic high school in Rudo.

He goes on to assert that the working people and citizens of Rudo and vicinity are disturbed that certain young people have gone off to religious schools and Serbian seminaries, since, according to Mujo, religion is again reviving. Orthodoxy is again raising its head. So "young captives" are crying in Serbian monasteries, refusing food, and the religious "fanaticism" of the parents has forcibly dragged the children and "sacrificed" them to God between the thick cold walls of the monastery.

Are we really dealing here with the imagination of an uninformed, frightened and hate-ridden Mr Mujo or a much deeper intention calculated to arouse the

anger of numerous adherents of Orthodoxy, to insult Serbian Orthodox shrines, our monasteries, and thus to deepen the feelings of nausea which lay so painfully in the heart of every Serb, every Yugoslav, and indeed every religious person throughout the world after the events in Kosovo, the setting of fire to the Serbian patriarchate building, and the attack on the lives of our nuns and novices.

Even Comrade Omer Hota, chairman of the Opstina Conference of the League of Communists, is concerned about Vera Novakovic's "imprisonment" in the monastery, as well as by the spirit of the "sect" of zealots in his jurisdiction.

"It is a question," Omer says, "of a religious fanaticism which I cannot grasp at all."

Naturally, Comrade Hota. In these critical times in the country and in the world, when man is increasingly isolated and abandoned, and from time to time also abused, surely we are not going to "blame" the Serbian monasteries for not having furnished you the basic sociological and psychological knowledge about the humanistic development of man as a social and spiritual creature that would be required to understand the love for God, the growth of interest in God and the turning toward Him, since it is obvious that God does not interest you, it is obvious that you do not care about Him.

Nor perhaps about man either. After all, your concern about man is one-sided. You took no pains to understand man, to enter into the essence of the human spirit, so God is not close to you. Especially the Christian God; you see Him as a threat to your or someone's (Vera's, for example) existence.

Nor do you like the clergy, the Orthodox nuns, novices, Serbian priests, monasteries and churches. You do not like them and do not understand them.

After all, all people are brothers, regardless of race, religion or party. Within the walls of those monasteries we have for centuries prayed for the souls of all sinful men, and we will also pray for you, Brother Omer. And in return leave us in peace if you can. Take good care of your young people, since in a sense they are entrusted to you. Save them from punk, fascist symbols, offensive songs and drugs which are being drawn like the devil himself into the veins of the young people entrusted to your care. And he is destroying them, Hota. He is destroying them like a treacherous disease, of which this sinful world of ours is unfortunately full to overflowing. I am sure you read the newspapers. You see all that is going on. And if you are really concerned about Vera and the other young Orthodox adherents, the monastery gates and doors are open to you, and even if you do not cherish God and people, you may come and enjoy the beauty of architecture and fresco painting known throughout the world, work done by simple people who were spiritually turned upside down, people similar to Vera Novakovic. We will answer your insult with the beauty of both deeds and beauty of the soul. You are probably aware that one does not go without the other. Come and talk with Vera, as I myself have done.

I have visited Zica and talked with the novice Vera Novakovic with the blessing of His Reverence Bishop Stefan of Zica. "They have insulted me, father. The girls from Kraljevo and Konarevo brought me newspapers, better if they hadn't. Those are all lies and fabrications. I am here by my own free will and with the blessing of my parents, no one forced me, I want to remain here until the end of my life."

"Why?" I asked.

"I am happy here. They are all so good to me. And then the peace, all the conditions for a man to turn to God with unrestrained love. I want to serve Him. I do not blame Mujo for not understanding that. Though still I do not know why he had to invent all those disgusting lies. That hurts. I think that I have never insulted anyone there. Here life is meaningful, simple, we are like one, we have good members of the clergy, the Mother Superior is good, they are like parents toward me, and we do our job as a task of service."

"Sister Vera, if you do not mind, please tell us what your task of service is?"

There followed a gentle smile on the face of the intelligent girl.

"What my whole life I had in my imagination have come true for me. I am working with the other sisters on iconography. I enjoy that."

Then the smile vanished from her face, though the gentleness still remained in her eyes.

"Please, father, tell everyone and explain to them that I want to follow in the steps of our glorious ancestors, our brave holy women who were nuns. They gave everything to Christ and to His Church, I know that even today they are preserving our shrines with great trouble, sometimes even with guns in their hands. I have read in the newspaper how my sisters were tortured in Kosovo, this made me sad, I was unable to understand how this was possible, nor do I understand even now."

I noticed a tear held back in her large maiden's eye. I also felt bad.

"Father, I feel bad when I think what the Albanian nationalists are doing, the kind of tortures the Serbian nuns are exposed to in one portion of Serbia. As soon as I become spiritually mature and stronger I would like to go down and help my sisters. I would like to go to the defense of our shrine insofar as I know how and am able. And forgive me still another thing. I have been brought up in our faith since I was small. My mother and father raised me in the fear of God and taught me to love Him, to be shy with people and to love them. On one occasion in Cajnic I heard a sermon in which the priest uttered those words of Christ: 'Let the children come unto me, since theirs is the kingdom of heaven.' I felt that this world is not for me, I felt that I belong to the higher goals of serving God. That is why I came here. Forgive me and give me your blessing, father."

I have been reflecting about the article mentioned, about my visit to Zica, about that beautiful young girl of ours, about our spiritual pearl, our spiritual university where the first votive candle of faith in and love for our people was lit. I have reflected on its spiritual and historical values, on the famous Zica assemblies, about our glorious past and future. I can clearly recall Vera's pure love for the monastic vocation, which she is ready for in her 17th year, as she is ready to give her life for Christ and His Church.

And it is not clear to me what Mujo, Hota and ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA want. "Religion," they say, "has returned to Rudo and the vicinity, Orthodoxy is reviving with the Serbs," they go on to say. I did not know that Orthodoxy had ever died with the Serbs, so that now it has to rise from the dead. Perhaps Comrades Omer and Mujo do know that?

Omer and Mujo, forgive me for addressing you directly as I am now doing, but I would like to inform you, since I see that it greatly interests you: religion did not die in Orthodox souls, nor will it ever die. And do not count on it, gentlemen or comrades. Are you not aware that our ancestors were hanged and were impaled for their faith? They kept and preserved the faith and left it in our trust to preserve it. If you did not know that, then certainly you are aware of this: THAT THE ORTHODOX FAITH IS ALSO GUARANTEED BY THE CONSTITUTION.

But what are you doing?

You are crucifying on an invisible cross Vera Novakovic, our young novice, you are mistreating her parents, Zica with its seven doors is being slandered. When, gentlemen, have you seen children taken away by the Serbian monasteries (and indeed is that at all possible?), when have you seen them tried in the monasteries, when have you seen anyone castigated and thrown into life imprisonment? You know very well that we all live in a government by law, that we are all subject to the same laws, and can it be possible that minors are kidnapped today in our homeland and shut away in life imprisonment?!

Nor has Vera's mother Ljubinka Novakovic ever been in a monastery, so that still less was she able to flee from it. Nor has Vera's father nor any of his people, gone before the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem. We zealots, Bjelopoljac, we go to Christ's grave and the other notable places of our shrine, to bow our heads and to pray to God in the name of Christ's resurrection and eternal life, to call upon Him to save us and to preserve us from the devil, from evil and from every contemptible person.

Can it be, Comrades, that you did not know that public information deliberately aimed at disturbing the citizenry, at creating hysteria and religious intolerance among our fraternal nationalities must be truthful, objective and verified? Can it be that the editor of ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA had no duty and was unable to simply verify all the shameful and disgusting attacks on Zica, that is, on the Serbian Orthodox Church? Is it right, comrade editor, without verification to strike a blow so unthinkingly and hastily against the original sources of our literacy, culture and spirituality, against the capitols of Serbian history from which have come our first books, schools, print shops, our pictures (frescoes)...?

In conclusion, a social worker, a psychologist, a homeroom teacher or her schoolmates in Rudo, who have talked to her in Zica Monastery and even now maintain contact with her by telephone and correspondence, certainly could have had something authentic to say about Vera's "imprisonment."